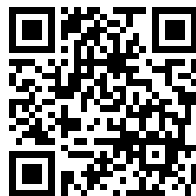


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HARVARD THEOLOGICAL STUDIES  
II

# THE PAULINE IDEA OF FAITH

IN ITS RELATION TO JEWISH AND  
HELLENISTIC RELIGION

BY

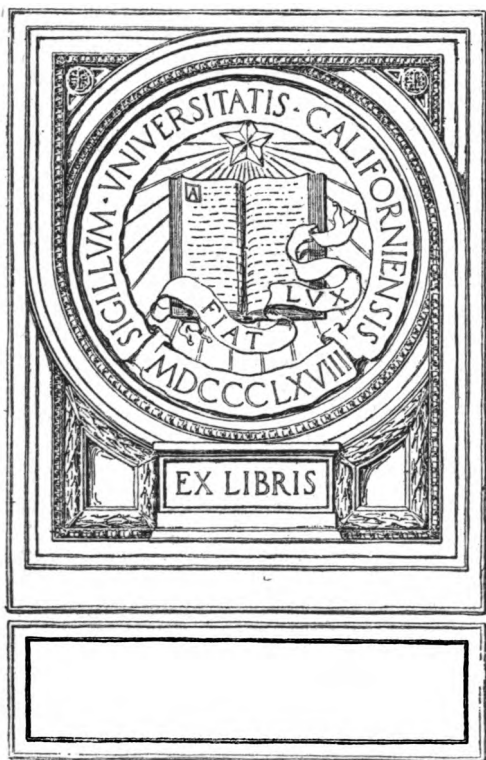
WILLIAM HENRY PAINE HATCH, Ph.D., D.D.  
PROFESSOR OF THE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT  
IN THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK



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1917







# **HARVARD THEOLOGICAL STUDIES**

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EDITED FOR THE  
FACULTY OF DIVINITY  
IN  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

BY  
GEORGE F. MOORE, JAMES H. ROPES,  
KIRSOPP LAKE



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**TO  
THE MEMORY OF  
MY MOTHER**

36854.



## PREFACE

It is my purpose in the following pages to examine in detail the Pauline idea of faith, which was fundamental in the Apostle's conception of Christianity. What is the content of the idea in Paul? How is it related to trust in Jahveh, which was so prominent an element in Hebrew and Jewish piety? Was there anything analogous to the Pauline idea of faith in the religious thought of the Graeco-Roman world or in the Oriental mystery cults, which enjoyed great popularity in the West during the centuries immediately preceding and following the advent of Christianity? These are the questions which I shall endeavor to answer.

This treatise in substantially its present form was accepted by the Graduate Faculty of the Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

I desire to express my hearty thanks to four of my friends and former teachers for their kindness in reading my manuscript and making certain valuable suggestions—to President Francis Brown and Professor Arthur C. McGiffert of the Union Theological Seminary and to Professors George F. Moore and James H. Ropes of Harvard University. I also wish to thank Professor Robert E. Hume of the former of these institutions for some helpful suggestions concerning my discussion of Hellenistic religion. But chiefly am I indebted to Professor James Everett Frame of the Union Theological Seminary, under whose supervision the work was begun and carried through to completion. He has generously and cheerfully counseled and directed me in my labors, and I take pleasure in making this acknowledgment of my obligation to him.

WILLIAM HENRY PAINE HATCH.

NEW YORK, November 1, 1915.



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# THE PAULINE IDEA OF FAITH

## CHAPTER I

### TRUST IN JAHVEH

IN very early times some roving Semitic tribes migrated from the Euphrates valley into the less densely populated region of Canaan and settled there, and from them the Hebrews were descended. Their religious beliefs and practices, as **The primitive period of Israelitish religion** many obvious survivals show, were such as are usually found among nomads. Like other races at their stage of development, they were polytheists, worshipping the spirits of springs, trees, and rocks, and venerating certain animals as sacred. The principal motive for worship in this primitive period was doubtless fear; for such divinities were not calculated to inspire love or trust, even if their worshippers had been readily susceptible to these higher sentiments. The "fear of Jahveh" (יראת יהוה), an expression which in the Old Testament connotes awe and reverence as well as fear, is found first in Isaiah the son of Amoz. It was for centuries a regular designation of religion in Israel,<sup>1</sup> and even in the New Testament the corresponding Greek phrase (ὁ φόβος τοῦ κυρίου) appears once in connection with the life of the church in Palestine.<sup>2</sup>

In course of time, however, Jahveh became the sole god of the Hebrews. He was conceived in such a way that he could be loved and trusted; and from that early period in which the **Trust in Jahveh** oldest stratum of the Old Testament was written on through the centuries that followed, trust in Jahveh was the most vital element in Hebrew and Jewish piety. Under various figures and with differing conceptions of God this sentiment is found in

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e. g., Is. 11, 2 f.; 33, 6; Ps. 111, 10; Prov. 1, 7; 14, 26 f. Cf. also יראת אלהים in Gen. 20, 11 (E); 2 Sam. 23, 3; and Eccles. 10, 22 (Heb.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ac. 9, 31.



the historical writings, the prophetic books, the psalms, and the wisdom literature.<sup>1</sup> Of the LXX, the Apocrypha, and the Pseudepigrapha we shall speak later.

Jahveh is frequently associated with fire (e. g. the burning bush: Ex. 3, 2 ff.; the pillar of fire: Ex. 13, 21 f.; 14, 24; the fiery chariot of Elijah: 2 Kg. 2, 11) and the phenomena of storms (e. g. thunder: 1 Sam. 2, 10; 7, 10; Ps. 29, 3; lightning: Ps. 18, 15 [E. V. 14]; Hab. 3, 11; rainbow: Gen. 9, 13, 14, 16 [P]) in the Old Testament, and consequently it has been inferred that he was originally a god of fire (cf. Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit*, 1913, p. 29) or a storm god (cf. Stade-Bertholet, *Biblische Theologie des A. T.*,<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> 1905-1911, i, pp. 41 f.). It seems certain, however, that he was not thought of as presiding over any particular department of nature (cf. Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte*,<sup>3</sup> 1899, pp. 23 f.; and Moore in *Enc. Brit.*,<sup>11</sup> 1911, xv, pp. 313 f.). He was not specifically a god of war because he was the champion of his people and their leader in battle; nor can he with any plausibility be regarded as a Semitic moon god (Sin). Jahveh was rather the god of a region, probably mount Sinai or Horeb, and after the consolidation of the Hebrew tribes he was the god of the people of Israel (cf. Marti, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*,<sup>4</sup> 1903, p. 62; Kautzsch in *Hastings Dict. of the Bible*, 1899-1904, extra vol., pp. 625 ff.; Moore, *loc. cit.*; H. P. Smith, *The Religion of Israel*, 1914, pp. 34 f.; and Peters, *The Religion of the Hebrews*, 1914, pp. 108 f.). König (*Geschichte der Alttestamentlichen Religion*, 1912, pp. 157 ff.), however, adheres to the interpretation of Jahveh given in Ex. 3, 14 f. (E); but whether this be understood in an ethical or a philosophical sense, it must certainly be abandoned in favor of some explanation corresponding to the cultural level of the primitive worshippers of Jahveh.

Probably the earliest passage containing the idea of trust in Jahveh is the classical colloquy of Abraham with God in Genesis 15, 1-6, which seems to belong to the document of the Hexateuch known as J.<sup>2</sup> When the aged patriarch complained that he was soon to depart from life childless and without an heir of his own flesh, the Lord announced to him that a son should

<sup>1</sup> Besides אָמֵן and בָּטַח, both of which mean to trust, the following verbs are used: דָּבַק, to cleave; חָכָה, to wait or long for; חָסָה, to seek refuge; יָחַל, to wait or hope for; קָוָה, to wait or look for; קָרַב, to draw near; and שָׁעַן, to lean.

<sup>2</sup> I have followed Gunkel (Genesis<sup>3</sup> in *Handkommentar zum A. T.*, 1910, I, i, pp. 177 and 180), Driver (The Book of Genesis<sup>3</sup> in the *Westminster Commentaries*, 1904, p. 174), and Steuernagel (*Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das A. T.*, 1912, p. 141), in assigning Gen. 15, 6 to J, for this seems to me the simplest and on the whole the most satisfactory hypothesis. Perhaps, however, as Skinner remarks, the whole

be born to him and be his heir. Thereupon Abraham, in spite of the fact that he was already an old man, "trusted in Jahveh" (האמן ביהוה),<sup>1</sup> having full and implicit confidence that the latter would perform his promise; and he was accordingly brought into a right relation to God.<sup>2</sup> The meaning is, as the use of ב rather than ל with יהוה shows, that Abraham trusted in Jahveh — not merely that he believed the Lord when the promise was made to him.<sup>3</sup> Such belief might be considered highly meritorious, but it could not be regarded as a right relation (צדקה) to God. Thus in the earliest of the documents of the Hexateuch, which may with considerable confidence be assigned to the ninth century B.C.,<sup>4</sup> the religious value of trust in God is clearly recognized.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, it should be noted

passage may be "the composition of an editor who used the name יהוה, but whose affinities otherwise are with the school of Deuteronomy rather than with the early Yahwistic writers" (cf. Genesis in *The Internat. Crit. Com.*, 1910, p. 277). See also Duhm in *Handkommentar zum A. T.*<sup>2</sup> (1902), III, i, p. 49. Procksch, in spite of the use of the proper name יהוה, assigns v. 6 to E (cf. Die Genesis in Sellin's *Kommentar zum A. T.*, i, 1913, pp. 285 and 287); and Smend thinks that J and E are combined here (cf. *Die Erzählung des Hexateuch*, 1912, p. 44).

<sup>1</sup> Almost all printed Hebrew Bibles have האמן here, and so the Massora requires (ל' וחסר). The MSS., however, are divided between this form and the fully written האמין (cf. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum*, 1776-1780, *ad loc.*); but since they all profess to exhibit the Massoretic text, their variations are of no critical value. The variant readings are, from the copyist's own point of view, merely accidental errors.

<sup>2</sup> "And he counted it (i. e. Abraham's trust) to him as righteousness (צדקה)." The latter "is here neither inherent moral character, nor piety in the subjective sense, but a right relation to God conferred by a divine sentence of approval" (Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 280). On the use of Gen. 15, 6 in later literature see Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought* (1900), pp. 91 ff.; Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*<sup>2</sup> (1906), pp. 226 f.; and *infra*, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> When the object is God ב is used with האמין nine times and ל only twice. For the distinction between the two see Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*<sup>2</sup> (Eng. tr. by Cowley, 1910), § 119 l, where ב האמין is translated "cleave trustingly to."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Steuernagel, *op. cit.*, pp. 225 f.; and Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.* (1914), p. 123.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gunkel, *op. cit.*, p. 180: "Dieser Erzähler weiss in all seiner Schlichtheit, worauf es in der Religion ankommt; und wie viel ihm an dieser Erkenntnis liegt, zeigt sich daran, dass er eine Erzählung bildete, die den Zweck hat, die Wahrheit auszusprechen, dass Gott nichts anderes will als ein Herz, das ihm vertraut."

that trust in Jahveh is *implied* in certain poetical passages of the Old Testament which are undoubtedly of early date.<sup>1</sup>

Isaiah also set the highest value on trust in Jahveh, and at two different crises in the history of Judah he declared that trust in God **Is. 7, 9; 28, 16**; was the only source of safety. In the time of the Syro- and **Ps. 78, 21f.** Ephraimitish war he stated the doctrine in negative form: "If ye will not trust (תאמינו), surely ye shall not be established (תאמנו)." <sup>2</sup> The positive counterpart of this utterance is found in the prophet's declaration to the rulers of Judah when they were meditating revolt from Assyria with the hope of receiving aid from Egypt. He clearly foresaw the hopelessness of the enterprise and spoke as follows: "Behold, I found in Zion a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone firmly founded; he who trusts (המאמין) shall not make haste."<sup>3</sup> Here the Lord himself is the firmly fixed corner-stone, and the thought is that whoever confides in him will be safe. Again, the author of Psalm 78, which, apart from some glosses of later date, may have been written in the early part of the Persian period,<sup>4</sup> ascribes the Lord's displeasure with his people in the desert to their lack of trust in him and his salvation. "Therefore," says the psalmist, "Jahveh heard and became wroth, and a fire was kindled against Jacob, and anger also went up against Israel; because they did not trust in God (לֹא הֵאֱמִינוּ בַּאֱלֹהִים), and did not trust in his salvation (לֹא בִּישׁוּעָתוֹ)."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e. g., Gen. 49, 25; Dt. 33, 12; Judg. 5, 31. Some scholars, however, think that v. 31 is a later addition to the Song of Deborah (cf. Moore on Judges in *The Internat. Crit. Com.*, 1895, p. 171). On the date of these poems cf. Steuernagel, *op. cit.*, pp. 257 ff. and 295 f.

<sup>2</sup> Is. 7, 9. Duhm thinks that Gen. 15, 6 is the work of the Deuteronomist, and that Is. 7, 9 is the earliest mention of trust in Jahveh which the extant literature of Israel affords (cf. *Handkommentar zum A. T.*,<sup>3</sup> 1902, III, i, p. 49). But, as Skinner observes (*op. cit.*, p. 277), Gen. 15, 6 cannot be ascribed to D without leaving a number of unsolved problems; and it seems better to assign the verse to J with the majority of critics. In that case of course it is earlier than Is. 7, 9. For a reminiscence of Isaiah's thought cf. 2 Ch. 20, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Is. 28, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Briggs on Psalms in *The Internat. Crit. Com.*, 1906-1907, ii, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. 78, 21f. Cf. also the following passages: Ex. 14, 31 (J); Nu. 14, 11 (JE); 20, 12 (P); Dt. 1, 32 (D); 2 Kg. 17, 14; 2 Ch. 20, 20; Jon. 3, 5.

We must not ignore Hab. 2, 4 — a passage which the Apostle Paul quotes twice in support of his doctrine of justification by faith.

**Hab. 2, 4** Habakkuk is sorely distressed over the iniquity and violence which are rife in Judah, and he mounts his prophetic watch-tower in imagination and awaits a message from Jahveh. Presently the oracle comes saying that the Lord is about to raise up the Babylonians, a mighty and terrible people, as an instrument of vengeance; but that the righteous Judean, in contrast with his proud and unrighteous neighbor, will escape death and live by his faithfulness (אֱמוּנָה), i. e. his moral steadfastness and integrity.

The Massoretic text has בְּאֱמוּנָתִי, which, being represented by all the Greek versions known to Origen, is certainly as old as the second century after Christ, and in all probability it is the reading adopted by the official revisers of the Hebrew text towards the close of the first century of our era. Before this time, however, בְּאֱמוּנָתִי, which to the eye differs but slightly from בְּאֱמוּנָתוֹ and is a *lectio difficilior*, seems to have been current at least in some quarters; for the LXX has ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως μου ζήσεται (NBQ). It is true that A and many minuscules read ὁ δὲ δίκαιός μου ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται (cf. also the quotation in Heb. 10, 38 according to NA etc.) — a variant which seems to be due to an attempt to get a more easily intelligible text. It should certainly be rejected in favor of the reading of NBQ. Paul, however, undoubtedly wrote simply ἐκ πίστεως in Rom. 1, 17 and Gal. 3, 11, which would be represented by בְּאֱמוּנָה in Hebrew. The personal pronoun must have been absent from the Greek version in the form in which the Apostle knew and used it, unless we assume that he was himself responsible for the omission of μου.

In reconstructing the historical situation I have followed Cornill, *Einleitung in das A. T.*<sup>5 and 4</sup> (1896), pp. 194 f. For a somewhat different view see Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.* (1914), pp. 337 ff. Steuernagel holds that 1, 12-2, 4 is not by the author of 1, 2-11, but is the work of a writer who lived during the Exile. He thinks that רָשָׁע probably refers to the Babylonians and צִדִּיק to Judah (cf. *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das A. T.*, 1912, p. 634).

The word אֱמוּנָה here is sometimes understood in the sense of faith or trust in Jahveh rather than faithfulness, i. e. fidelity to God's requirements, or moral uprightness.<sup>1</sup> Either of these meanings

<sup>1</sup> So Luther, A. V., and R. V. (faithfulness in marg.). Schlatter (*Der Glaube im N. T.*,<sup>3</sup> 1905, pp. 561 f.) and Warfield (in Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, 1899-1904, i, p. 827) defend this interpretation.

suits the context of our passage, and there are parallels to both in the Old Testament. If the former is adopted, the thought is the same as that of Isaiah at the time of the contemplated revolt from Assyria;<sup>1</sup> while with the latter rendering of אֱמוּנָה Habakkuk 2, 4 is in line with the teaching of Ezekiel that the wicked man who turns from his sins and does that which is lawful and right shall live by his righteousness (בְּצִדְקָתוֹ).<sup>2</sup> But although אֱמוּנָה has the meaning of faith in rabbinical writings, it is not used in this sense elsewhere in the Old Testament, and this lexical consideration must control our interpretation of the passage under discussion. Therefore we have no hesitation in translating the word by *faithfulness*.<sup>3</sup> The LXX, as we have seen, renders אֱמוּנָה by πίστις, which may mean either faithfulness or faith; and the rabbis, who were familiar with the word in the active sense of faith, seem to have given it this meaning in the prophecy of Habakkuk. The Apostle Paul studied theology in Jerusalem before his conversion; and, like most Hellenistic Jews, he was accustomed to read the Old Testament in Greek, though he was doubtless able to use the Hebrew original. Hence, when he became a Christian and began to reflect on the significance of faith (πίστις) as a factor in religion, it was only natural that the prophetic promise of Habakkuk 2, 4 should present itself to his mind as an irrefutable confirmation of his own experience and theory. He quoted it twice in his correspondence, and in each instance he gave to the word πίστις a specifically Pauline sense, viz. the faith by which the believer is justified apart from works of the law.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Is. 28, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ezek. 18, 21 f.

<sup>3</sup> So also Nowack (in *Handkommentar zum A. T.*,<sup>2</sup> 1903, iii, 4, p. 282), Ward (on Habakkuk in *The Internat. Crit. Com.*, 1911, p. 13), and the lexicons of Brown-Driver-Briggs (1906) and Gesenius-Buhl (1910).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Rom. 1, 17; Gal. 3, 11. Hab. 2, 4 is also quoted in Heb. 10, 38; but here πίστις means an unshrinking trust in God, whereby the righteous man's soul will be preserved at the *parousia* of the Lord.

Besides אֱמוּנָה there are four other substantives derived from the root אָמַן in the Old Testament: אֱמֻנָה = *faithfulness*; אֱמֻנָה = *trusting, faithfulness*; אֱמוּנָה = *faith, support*; and אֱמוּנָה = *firmness, faithfulness, truth*. None of them in biblical Hebrew is used of trust in God.

Waiting or looking (חכה, יחל, קח) for Jahveh not infrequently implies the idea of trusting in him. Thus Isaiah, apparently at the close of one period in his ministry, declares: "(I will) Is. 8, 16 f.; tie up the testimony (and) seal the instruction in my Mic. 7, 7 disciples. And I will wait (חכיתי) for Jahveh, who hides his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look (אסיתי) for him."<sup>1</sup> So, too, the great prophet of the Exile known as Second Isaiah proclaims to his captive countrymen in the name of the Lord: "My righteousness draws near, my salvation is gone forth, and my arms shall judge the peoples; for me shall the coasts look (יחל) and for my arm shall they wait (יחלו)." <sup>2</sup> Again, the same idea appears in a passage which is appended to the prophecies of Micah, but which is certainly of later date: "But I will watch for Jahveh. I will wait (אמילא) for the God of my salvation; my God will hear me."<sup>3</sup>

Trusting in Jahveh is sometimes spoken of figuratively as leaning (עש) upon him. The earliest instance of this in the Old Testament is found in a prophecy of Micah which seems to and Is. 50, 10 have been uttered at the time of Sennacherib's invasion.<sup>4</sup> It was a period of great violence and corruption in Judah, and the prophet sternly denounces the judges, priests, and prophets for their venality. "Her chiefs judge for a bribe, and her priests give direction for hire, and her prophets divine for money; yet they

<sup>1</sup> Is. 8, 16 f. For חכה cf. also Zeph. 3, 8; Ps. 33, 20; and for קח see Is. 25, 9 bis; 26, 8; 33, 2; 51, 5; Jer. 14, 22; Hos. 12, 7; Ps. 25, 5, 21; 27, 14 bis; 37, 34; 40, 2; 130, 5 bis.

<sup>2</sup> Is. 51, 5. I have followed the Massoretic text. Oort *et al.* propose פִּרְנֵעַ קָרֵב (= LXX *ἐγγίζει ταχέ*).

<sup>3</sup> Mic. 7, 7. The situation and outlook of 7, 7-20 are very different from those in the unmistakably genuine portion of the book, and the section shows certain affinities with the post-exilic age. Therefore, in spite of Driver's defense of its authenticity (cf. *An Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.*, 1914, p. 334), we must regard 7, 7-20 as the work of some prophetic writer who lived after the Exile. Marti and Haupt assign the passage to the Maccabean period. For a summary of critical views concerning chaps. 6 and 7 see Smith on Micah in *The Internat. Crit. Com.* (1911), pp. 12 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Is. 10, 20, which forms part of a prose appendix to a poem, is certainly not by Isaiah. Cf. Duhm in *Handkommentar zum A. T.*<sup>2</sup> (1902), iii, 1, p. 75; and Gray on Isaiah in *The Internat. Crit. Com.* (1912), i, pp. 194 and 202 f.

lean (ישען) upon Jahveh, saying, Is not Jahveh in the midst of us? no evil will come upon us.”<sup>1</sup> The following passage is interesting and instructive on account of the parallelism between trusting and leaning: “He who walks in darkness and has no brightness, let him trust (יבטח) in the name of Jahveh and lean (וישען) upon his God.”<sup>2</sup>

The idea of trusting in Jahveh is most commonly expressed in the Old Testament by means of the verb בטח. This word occurs first in a passage of Zephaniah, who prophesied shortly before the Deuteronomic reformation in the eighteenth year of King Josiah’s reign. After calling Jerusalem a rebellious, defiled, and oppressing city, the prophet accuses her of not trusting in Jahveh, the implication being that her reliance is placed on inferior helpers. “She has not trusted (בטחה) in Jahveh; she has not drawn near (קרבה) to her God.”<sup>3</sup> The verb קרב is used several times in the Old Testament to denote an approach to the Lord on the part of man, but only here does it connote an attitude of trust. In a passage which has been assigned with much probability to the latter part of Jehoiakim’s reign,<sup>4</sup> Jeremiah proclaims again the doctrine which was taught at an earlier date by Isaiah: “Cursed is the man,” says the prophet, “who trusts (יבטח) in man, and makes flesh his arm, and whose heart turns aside from Jahveh. . . . Blessed is the man who trusts (יבטח) in Jahveh, and whose confidence (מבטח) Jahveh is.”<sup>5</sup> Again, on trusting in God and trusting in oneself one of the Old Testament sages writes as follows: “A greedy man stirs up strife, but he who trusts in Jahveh (בטח על יהוה) will be made fat (i. e. will prosper). He

<sup>1</sup> Mic. 3, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Is. 50, 10. This verse occurs in a passage of Second Isaiah; but Duhm, for apparently sound reasons, thinks that the author of *Is. 10* and *11* was either Third Isaiah or someone who had read him (cf. *Handkommentar zum A. T.*,<sup>3</sup> 1902, iii, 1, pp. 343 f.). For ישען used in the sense of trusting in Jahveh cf. also Is. 10, 20; 2 Ch. 13, 18; 14, 10; 16, 7, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Zeph. 3, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.* (1914), p. 257. Steuernagel, however, doubts the genuineness of Jer. 17, 1-11 (cf. *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das A. T.*, 1912, p. 548).

<sup>5</sup> Jer. 17, 5-7.

who trusts in his own heart (בְּלִבּוֹ i. e. in himself) is a fool, but he who walks in wisdom will be delivered (from harm).”<sup>1</sup>

The prophets and psalmists thought of Jahveh as a stronghold and place of refuge for those who put their trust in him, and hence Zeph. 3, 12 they sometimes spoke of trusting in God as taking and Nah. 1, 7 refuge in him. The first to use this figure, so far as we know, was Zephaniah, who speaks thus to the inhabitants of Jerusalem: “And I will leave in the midst of thee an afflicted and poor people, and they shall seek refuge (חֹסֶן) in the name of Jahveh.”<sup>2</sup> So also Nahum, who probably prophesied half a generation later than Zephaniah, after describing the terrible vengeance of the Lord upon his enemies adds this word of comfort: “Jahveh is good to those who wait for him (לְקוֹי), a refuge in the day of distress, and he knows those who seek refuge (חֹסֶן) in him.”<sup>3</sup>

Finally, in the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua Israel is several times enjoined to cleave or cling to God — a strong phrase in which Dt. 10, 20 and there lurks the idea of unshakable trust, as well as the 2 Kg. 18, 5 f. notion of loyalty. “Jahveh thy God, him shalt thou fear (and) serve; and to him shalt thou cleave (חִרַבְתָּ), and by his name shalt thou swear.”<sup>4</sup> So, too, the Second Book of Kings relates of the reformer-king Hezekiah that “he trusted (בָּטַח) in Jahveh, the God of Israel. . . . And he cleaved (חִרַבְתָּ) to Jah-

<sup>1</sup> Prov. 28, 25 f. Cf. also the following passages: (with ב) 2 Kg. 18, 5; Ps. 21, 8 (E. V. 7); 91, 2; Is. 26, 3 f.; (with עָל) Ps. 31, 15 (E. V. 14); 37, 5; Jer. 49, 11. Of the derivatives of the root בָּטַח only two need be mentioned here, viz. בְּטָחוֹן and מְבִטָּח, both of which denote trust or confidence in general. מְבִטָּח is used five times in the Old Testament of trust or confidence in God (Ps. 40, 5 [E. V. 4]; 65, 6 [E. V. 5]; 71, 5; Prov. 22, 19; Jer. 17, 7).

<sup>2</sup> Zeph. 3, 12. I have followed the Massoretic text. Grätz, Wellhausen, *et al.* read חֹסֶן for חֹסֶן.

<sup>3</sup> Nah. 1, 7. With many modern scholars I have adopted the reading לְקוֹי מְעוֹז ( = LXX τοῖς ἐντροπύλαις αὐτοῦ) instead of לְקוֹי מְעוֹז, which is found in the Massoretic text. See Smith on Nahum in *The Internat. Crit. Com.* (1911), p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> Dt. 10, 20. See also 11, 22; 13, 5; 30, 20; Josh. 22, 5; 23, 8. Driver assigns the passages from Deuteronomy to D and those from Joshua to D<sup>2</sup> (cf. *An Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.*, 1914, pp. 72 and 112 f.); but others regard them all as later additions by Deuteronomistic redactors (cf. Steuernagel in *Handkommentar zum A. T.*, 1900, i, 3, *ad loc.*). Cf. also Jer. 13, 11 (hiph.).



veh, he turned not aside from following him, and he kept his commandments, which Jahveh commanded Moses.”<sup>1</sup>

We have now brought together a number of significant Old Testament passages in which the idea of trust in Jahveh appears either by specific mention or under a figure of speech, and we have tried to depict in a few words the historical setting of each of them. It is clear from this investigation that among the Hebrews trust in Jahveh meant unwavering confidence in or whole-hearted reliance upon God, who was conceived in a strictly personal way. Jahveh was thought of not only as lord, king, and judge, but also as the father of his people;<sup>2</sup> and trust was the right attitude towards him on the part of both the individual and the nation. The religious Hebrew longed for spiritual fellowship with the divine Being in whom he trusted, and he had a very real sense of being in the immediate presence of God;<sup>3</sup> but the Old Testament idea of trust in Jahveh contains no trace of mysticism in the strict sense of the term.

It is very difficult to frame a satisfactory definition of mysticism on account of the great variety of phenomena which are classed under that head. Perhaps the mystical state may be best defined as a form of ecstasy in which a person is transported beyond the realm of reason, having direct and immediate contemplation of reality, or feeling himself to be in metaphysical union with God. The finite human personality is often temporarily merged or lost in the infinitude of the Deity. The characteristic marks of mysticism, according to Professor William James, are ineffability, a noëtic quality, transiency, and passivity (cf. *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902, pp. 380 ff.). Cf. also Inge, *Christian Mysticism* (1899), pp. 335 ff.; Gardner, *The Religious Experience of Saint Paul* (1911), pp. 61 f.; and Hall in *Essays in Modern Theology and Related Subjects . . . A Testimonial to Charles Augustus Briggs* (1911), pp. 261 ff.

We must next ask, How did the makers of the LXX version convey the Old Testament notion of trust in Jahveh to the Jews of the Diaspora, of whom the great majority read the Scriptures in

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kg. 18, 5 f. According to Kittel and Driver these verses are from the hand of the compiler of Kings, who in all probability did his work about 600 B.C. (cf. *Handkommentar zum A. T.*, 1900, i, 5, pp. viii and 279; and Driver, *op. cit.*, pp. 197 f.).

<sup>2</sup> For the Old Testament conception of Jahveh see Oehler, *Theologie des A. T.*<sup>2</sup> (1891), pp. 154 ff. and 280 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e. g., Ps. 73, 23 f., 26, and 28.

Greek rather than in Hebrew? Inasmuch as Paul of Tarsus was one of these Hellenistic Jews, this question has an important bearing on the problem to which the present study is devoted. **Trust in God in the LXX** It may be said that in general the idea of trusting in God is faithfully represented by the LXX, though in many cases no attempt has been made to preserve the metaphor of the original.<sup>1</sup> The conception of God in the LXX is essentially the same as that found in the Hebrew Old Testament, except that the Greek translators sought to adapt their work to the ideas of Hellenistic Jews by eliminating to some extent the anthropomorphic traits in Jahveh's character.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, he continued to be a truly personal God, being spoken of as lord, king, and father of his people. It was possible for one who was acquainted only with the Greek Bible to have a very adequate understanding of the Old Testament idea of Jahveh; but such a person would have missed many of the expressive figures which the Hebrew writers employed to bring the idea home to their readers.

With the exception of Daniel, some of the psalms, and perhaps Ecclesiastes, all the writings comprised in the Hebrew Old Testament were in existence by the year 200 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The **The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha** ethical and religious thought of the Jews during the eventful and historically important period extending from this date to the suppression of the Jewish revolt led by Bar

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew verbs which denote trust in Jahveh are rendered in the LXX as follows: יָדָה by πιστεύω and ἐπιστεύω; בָּטַח by ἐλπίζω and πέποιθα; קָנָה by κολλάζομαι, προσκολλάζομαι, ἔχομαι, πρόσκειμαι, and προστίθεμαι; כָּנָה by μένω and ὑπομένω; יָדָה by ἐλπίζω, πέποιθα, εἰλαβέομαι, ἀντέχομαι, and σκεπάζομαι; לָחַץ by ἐλπίζω, ὑπομένω, and ἐγγίζω; יָרָךְ by ὑπομένω, ἐλπίζω, πέποιθα, and ἐγγίζω; קָרַב by ἐγγίζω; and יָשָׁא by πέποιθα, ἀντιστηρίζομαι, ἐλπίζω, and ἐπαπαύομαι.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums* (1906), p. 365.

<sup>3</sup> It cannot be doubted that some of the psalms are of Maccabean origin, and it is probable that certain additions were made to some of the prophets after 200 B.C., e. g. Hosea, Isaiah, and Zechariah. The compilation of the Psalter and the formation of the Book of Proverbs were completed after the beginning of the second century B.C. If Eccles. 10, 17 refers to the rule of Antiochus III, this part of Koheleth's work must have been composed after 198 B.C., when the Syrian king defeated the army of Ptolemy V and established the reign of the Seleucidae in Palestine. But in any case it is altogether improbable that Ecclesiastes was written long before the year 200 B.C. Cf.

Koziba in 135 A.D.<sup>1</sup> is reflected in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, though some of the writings in the latter group were composed as early as the third century B.C. The apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature is of the most varied character, including the legalistic, apocalyptic, and pietistic strands of Judaism.<sup>2</sup>

Legalism among the Hebrews began with the discovery of the Deuteronomic law-book in the temple in the eighteenth year of **Legalism and** King Josiah's reign. From very ancient times the **the priesthood** prophets were regarded as the instruments whereby Jahveh made his will known to his people, but from this period on the law was believed to be a revelation of God in written form. In accordance with the directions contained in the newly discovered book Josiah undertook and carried through a radical reformation of religion in Judah. He extirpated all the traces of heathenism that could be found in the worship of Jahveh, destroyed the high places where he had been worshipped since the time of the Israelitish occupation of Canaan, and made the temple in Jerusalem the only legitimate and recognized seat of worship. Ezekiel, whose literary and prophetic activity falls in the period of the Exile, was an important factor in the development of legalism. He was himself a priest as well as a prophet, and in the ordinances which he drew up for the theocratic state to be established in Palestine he assigned a place of primary importance to the priestly family of Zadok. Although as a whole Ezekiel's idealistic program was never put into practice, many of his ideas were adopted after the building of the Second Temple. The cultus of the reconstituted Jewish community of post-exilic times is reflected in the so-called Priests' Code, the Barton on Eccles. in *The Internat. Crit. Com.* (1908), pp. 58 ff.; and Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.* (1914), pp. 475 f.

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the most important dates in Jewish history, partly because the victory of the Romans brought the national life of the Jews to an end, and partly because Pharisaism was henceforth to dominate Judaism.

<sup>2</sup> For the religious and ethical ideas of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha see Couard, *Die religiösen und sittlichen Anschauungen der alttestamentlichen Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen* (1907); Hughes, *The Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature* (no date); and Wicks, *The Doctrine of God in the Jewish Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature* (1915).

latest stratum of the Hexateuch. Here the ritual is more elaborate, the regulations for worship are more detailed and complex, and the priestly spirit is dominant. In this period the priests were a large and influential class. They were legalists of the strictest sort; as functionaries of the temple their interest was in ceremonialism; and they represented the traditional and conservative side of Judaism.

Prophecy flourished alongside of the law for some time after the Exile, but the prophets of this period were to a large extent imbued with the priestly spirit. With the passing of the years the influence of the law increased and its prestige was enhanced. When prophecy declined and finally developed into apocalyptic, legalism became the dominant force in Jewish religion. As the revelation which was believed to have been vouchsafed to Moses by God, the law was the divinely given standard of conduct, and strict obedience to it was both a religious duty and an act of wisdom. Those who were faithful in observing it were accounted righteous,<sup>1</sup> and those who neglected it or for any reason failed to observe it were considered sinners.

During the period in which the later books of the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the Pseudepigrapha were composed, fidelity to the law was esteemed the supreme demand of religion and the one comprehensive virtue. In order to make this legalistic position clear, it will suffice to quote two representative passages. In Ecclesiastes 12, 13, a verse which has probably been appended to the original work by an orthodox editor,<sup>2</sup> the reader is thus admonished: "Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the business of every man."<sup>3</sup> Again, in the Apocalypse of

<sup>1</sup> Righteousness, however, was not synonymous with sinlessness. Cf. Eccles. 7, 20.

<sup>2</sup> The thought of vv. 13 and 14 is so different from the general teaching of Koheleth that they are probably to be explained as a note subsequently appended in the interest of sound doctrine. It is possible, however, that the author himself added these verses in order to forestall adverse criticism of his position. Cf. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.* (1914), p. 478.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase **וזה כל האדם** (LXX *ὅτι τοῦτο πᾶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος*; om. ὁ C) is involved in difficulty. Barton (Eccles. in *The Internat. Crit. Com.*, 1908, pp. 199 and 201), following Delitzsch *et al.*, says that it "can only mean 'this is every man,'" and explains it as a metaphor meaning "this is what every man is destined for and should be wholly

Baruch, a Palestinian work composed after the destruction of the temple in 70 A.D., we read: "For at the consummation of the world there will be vengeance taken upon those who have done wickedness according to their wickedness, and thou wilt glorify the faithful (*lamehaimane*) according to their faithfulness (*haimanūthhon*)."<sup>1</sup> As the Mosaic law became the object of more study and greater refinement, its influence in every department of life was increased, and every true Jew was deeply impressed with the obligation of being faithful to it. Indeed, fidelity to the divine law was the fundamental principle of Jewish religion, and hence Judaism stands forth as a leading representative of the legalistic type of religion.

The Mosaic law was believed to make known God's requirements and to be itself divine and holy.<sup>2</sup> Hence it was easy for anyone simply to put his trust in it, thinking that if he kept it faithfully he had done his duty, and therefore that all would be well with him. This notion, which might be called the common-sense view of the matter, is thus expressed in the Greek version of Ecclesiasticus: "A man of understanding will trust in the law, and the law will be faithful to him."<sup>3</sup> Since God was thought of as a heavenly ruler and judge who had graciously given a perfect law to Israel, it was inevitable that many people should trust in the law without much concern about trusting directly in

absorbed in." But it seems probable that a word has fallen out before כל האדם, such as חובת (Bickell) or דבר (Siegfried). The latter suggestion is adopted in the translation given above.

<sup>1</sup> Apoc. Bar. 54, 21. This part of the book, according to Charles, was written before 70 A.D. (cf. his *Apocalypse of Baruch*, 1896, p. lvi).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2 Macc. 6, 23; 4 Macc. 5, 18; Rom. 7, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Eccclus. 36, 3 LXX (E. V. 33, 3) ἀνθρώπος συνετός ἐπιστεύσει νόμῳ, καὶ ὁ νόμος αὐτῷ πιστὸς ὡς ἐρώτημα δέλων (δικαίων B) = Heb. אִישׁ נָכוֹן יִבִּין דְּבַר. The rest of v. 3 is wanting in the Hebrew text, but it has been reconstructed from the Greek as follows: ותורה לוֹ כְּאוֹרִים נִאֻמָּנָה (Smend) and ותורה לוֹ כְּאוֹרִים נִאֻמָּנָה (Box and Oesterley). *Nómos* represents דְּבַר in Ps. 119, 105 (cf. v. 57, where דְּבַרֶּיךָ is rendered τὸν νόμον σου in <sup>ca</sup> ART). Cf. also Eccclus. 35, 24 (E. V. 32, 24) ὁ πιστεύων νόμῳ προσέχει ἐντολαῖς = Heb. נֹצֵר תּוֹרָה שׁוֹמֵר נִפְשׁוֹ. In 4 Ez. 7, 24 "the many that now are" (multi praesentes), by which phrase the writer seems to mean the Gentiles, are spoken of thus: "Legem eius (i. e. Altissimi) spreverunt, et sponsiones eius abnegaverunt, et in legitimis eius fidem non habuerunt, et opera eius non perfecerunt."

Jahveh himself; but of course those who felt a need for fellowship with a personal God could not be content with such a purely legalistic form of religion as this.

The truth is that the pious made much of trust in God. Indeed, it was the root from which their piety sprang; and, as the extant literature shows, it was the theme of the writers of this period no less than of the prophets and psalmists of earlier times. In the face of the Gentiles' unbelief and the lack of faith on the part of many apostate Jews, trust in God was naturally regarded as one of the distinctive marks of the true Jew. Jesus ben Sira, who wrote in the first quarter of the second century B.C., conceived of God as the lord of men and things, the author of the conditions and changes of life, and the righteous judge of mankind.<sup>1</sup> He is also addressed a few times as father.<sup>2</sup> On trusting in God Ben Sira says: "Put thy trust in him (i. e. the Lord God) and he will help thee; make straight thy ways and set thy hope on him. . . . Ye who fear the Lord, put your trust in him, and your reward shall in no wise fail. . . . Look at the generations of olden time and see: Who put his trust in the Lord and was put to shame?"<sup>3</sup> We are told that when Daniel was taken up out of the lions' den, "No injury was found upon him, because he trusted in his God";<sup>4</sup> and when the aged Mattathias was about to die, he exhorted his sons to be zealous for the law and to remember the deeds of their fathers, mentioning among the latter the miraculous deliverance of the three companions of Daniel, who, having trusted (πιστεύσαντες), i. e. in God, "were saved out of the flame."<sup>5</sup> So, too, it is related of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Toy in *Enc. Bib.* (1899-1903), ii, col. 1175; and Wicks, *The Doctrine of God in the Jewish Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature* (1915), pp. 29 ff., 130 ff., and 264 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ecclus.* 23, 1, 4 (not extant in Hebrew); 51, 10 (Heb. אָבִי אֱתָנָה).

<sup>3</sup> *Ecclus.* 2, 6-10 (not extant in Hebrew). Cf. *v.* 3 κολλήθητι αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ ἀποστής. Cf. also 15, 15, where the Hebrew text contains the following: אַם תִּאֱמָרְךָ כִּי נִסִּים אֵלֶיךָ תַּחֲיִי. This sentence is preserved in the Syriac but not in the Greek version. I have followed Swete's third edition of the LXX (vol. ii, 1907).

<sup>4</sup> *Dan.* 6, 24 (E. V. 23). The LXX departs widely from the Aramaic text at this point, but the version of Theodotion has ἐπίστευσεν ἐν τῷ θεῷ αὐτοῦ (om. ἐν Α).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *1 Macc.* 2, 49 ff. This valuable historical work was written by an orthodox Palestinian Jew probably within the years 100-80 B.C. (cf. Kautzsch in his *Apokryphen*

mother of the Maccabean martyrs that "although she saw the destruction of seven children and the manifold<sup>1</sup> variety of their tortures, the noble mother set them all<sup>2</sup> at naught on account of her trust towards God (*διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν πίστιν*)."<sup>3</sup>

Finally, according to Fourth Ezra men will be judged in the last day by a twofold standard — the measure in which they have kept the law of Moses and their faith or trust in God. Fourth Ezra and the Apostle Paul "Everyone who shall be saved and who shall be able to escape through his works or through the faith (*per opera sua vel per fidem*) by which he has believed, he shall survive from the perils aforementioned and shall see my salvation in my land and in my borders."<sup>4</sup> And again: "He who shall bring the peril in that time will himself keep those who have fallen in peril; these are those who have works and faith (*opera et fidem*) toward the Almighty."<sup>5</sup> The author (or authors) of these passages, realizing the extreme difficulty of keeping the Mosaic law and believing that God would have mercy on those who were not rich in good works,<sup>6</sup> put a very high value upon faith or trust, and made it

*und Pseudepigraphen des A. T.*, 1900, i, p. 31). Oesterley, however, assigns it to the last quarter of the second century B.C. (cf. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T.*, 1913, i, p. 60).

<sup>1</sup> πολλήπορον Ν.

<sup>2</sup> Read ἀπάσας (sc. σπέρμας) for ἀς ἀπάσας of Ν\* and V.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Macc. 15, 24. Cf. also 16, 16-23 and 17, 2. Fourth Maccabees is the work of a pious Hellenistic Jew, living probably in Alexandria or possibly in Asia Minor, and was composed in the period extending from the fall of the Hasmonean dynasty in 63 B.C. to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. (cf. Deissmann in Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 150; and Townshend in Charles, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 654 and 656 f.).

<sup>4</sup> 4 Ez. 9, 7 f.

<sup>5</sup> 4 Ez. 13, 23. Cf. Jas. 2, 14-26. For the idea of trust in God see also the following passages: Eccclus. 2, 13; 11, 21; Wisd. Sol. 1, 2; 16, 26; 3 Macc. 2, 7. Fourth Ezra (3-14) was written somewhere in the East. If it is the work of a single writer, it may be plausibly assigned to the latter part of Domitian's reign — 90-96 A.D. (cf. Gunkel in Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 352; Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*,<sup>4</sup> 1901-1909, iii, pp. 327 f.; and Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das A. T.*, 1912, pp. 825 f.). Kabisch, however, with whom Charles and Box agree in the main, holds that Fourth Ezra was compiled by a Zealot about 120 A.D. out of several previously existing documents. These, he thinks, range in date from a time shortly before that of Pompey down to c. 100 A.D. (cf. *Das vierte Buch Esra*, 1889, pp. 131 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 4 Ez. 8, 32-36.

along with fidelity to the law a coördinate principle in his (or their) view of God's final dealings with his people. This is indeed the nearest approach in Judaism to the Pauline doctrine that a man is justified or acquitted by God on the basis of faith alone; but *fides* in Fourth Ezra means trust, and is not equivalent to *πίστις* in Paul. Moreover, to have taken the Pauline position would have meant the renunciation of Judaism and the legalistic type of religion in general. This apocalyptic work cannot have influenced the the Apostle's thinking on the question of justification.<sup>1</sup> It seems either to have emanated from those Jewish circles in which he moved before his conversion,<sup>2</sup> or to have come from a quarter in which his teaching was known but only imperfectly understood. In any case Fourth Ezra testifies to the unsatisfactoriness of the notion that God will judge men solely on the basis of the Mosaic law.

Trust in God was the life blood of Jewish piety in the period whose literature we have been examining; but nevertheless it was fidelity to the law of Moses that gave to Judaism its distinctive character and its peculiar strength. The authors of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha thought of God as a person quite as much as the Old Testament writers, though they avoided the anthropomorphic traits which many of the latter ascribed to Jahveh. He appears not only as creator, lord, and king of the world, but also in the more intimate relations of father and saviour.<sup>3</sup> On such a God one could rely without fear of being disappointed, and trust was the individual's confident reliance upon him. It was as devoid of any traces of mysticism as it was in the time of the Old Testament prophets and psalmists.

The writings of the rabbis, although in their present form of much later date than the letters of the Apostle Paul, nevertheless contain many earlier ideas which were handed down by tradition from one

<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, Charles finds in some parts of Fourth Ezra a Christian, and probably a Pauline, influence at work (cf. *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, 1896, pp. lxix ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gunkel in Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 349; and Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e. g., Wisd. Sol. 14, 3 (*πατήρ*); 3 Macc. 5, 7 (*πατήρ*); Ps. Sol. 8, 39 (*σωτήρ*); 17, 3 (*σωτήρ*). For the various epithets of God in these writings see Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*<sup>2</sup> (1906), pp. 431 ff.; and Couard, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff.



generation of teachers to another. In this vast literature, as in the writings of the Old Testament sages, there are two controlling **Rabbinical literature** ideas, and they are complementary to each other — first, that God has given to Israel a complete and all-sufficient revelation (תורה), including both the written law and the unwritten interpretation of it by the learned; and secondly, that it is the duty as well as the highest wisdom of men to give heed to God's revelation and to live in strict obedience thereto. Happiness was held to consist in obedience to God's word and in trust in Jahveh, each of which involved the other. "He who gives attention to the word will find good; and he who trusts in Jahveh, happy is he."<sup>1</sup>

Fidelity to the law, upon which, as we have seen, great emphasis is laid in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, was the corner-stone of rabbinical Judaism, and many a pious Jew found genuine joy in fulfilling the law's innumerable requirements.<sup>2</sup> All interest centered in the Torah, and it alone was the object of study. Thus legalism dominated every phase of life and thought and reigned supreme in religion, so that the obligation of being faithful to the Mosaic legislation necessarily holds the first place in rabbinical literature. Nevertheless, faith or trust in Jahveh was never lacking, and a very high religious value was put upon it.<sup>3</sup>

In the *Mekilta*, a halakic Midrash on part of Exodus, we find the following classical passage on faith or trust: "*And the people feared Jahveh.* Formerly in Egypt they did not fear Jahveh, **Mekilta on Ex. 14, 31** but now: *And the people feared Jahveh, and they trusted in Jahveh and in Moses his servant.* If they trusted in Moses, much more (did they trust) in Jahveh. This came to pass for the purpose of teaching thee that he who trusts in the faithful shepherd is as if he trusted in the word of him who spoke and the world

<sup>1</sup> Prov. 16, 20. Cf. Toy on Proverbs in *The Internat. Crit. Com.* (1899), pp. 328 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (1909), pp. 148 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The commonest words for faith in rabbinical writings are אֱמוּנָה and אִמּוּנָה. Sometimes, however, הֶאֱמַנָה, a hiph'il formation not found in the Old Testament, is used.

was. . . . Great is faith (אֱמוּנָה), whereby Israel trusted in him who spoke and the world was; for because Israel trusted in Jahveh, the Holy Spirit rested upon them, and they sang a song. For it is said: *And they trusted in Jahveh and in Moses his servant.* And it is said: *Then sang Moses and the children of Israel.* And thus thou findest that Abraham our father inherited this world and the world to come only by the merit of faith (אֱמוּנָה), whereby he trusted in Jahveh; for it is said: *And he trusted in Jahveh, and he reckoned it to him as righteousness* (Gen. 15, 6). *Then sang Moses and the children of Israel.* R. Nehemiah says: Everyone who takes upon himself one commandment in faith (אֱמוּנָה) is worthy that the Holy Spirit should rest upon him; for thus we find in the case of our fathers, that because our fathers trusted in Jahveh they were found worthy that the Holy Spirit should rest upon them, and they sang a song. For it is said: *And they trusted in Jahveh and in Moses his servant.* And it is said: *Then sang Moses and the children of Israel.* And thus thou findest that Abraham our father inherited this world and the world to come only by the merit of faith (אֱמוּנָה), whereby he trusted in Jahveh; for it is said: *And he trusted in Jahveh, and he reckoned it to him as righteousness.* For thus we find in the case of Moses and David and Deborah that they sang a song, and the Holy Spirit rested upon them. And thus thou findest that Israel was redeemed from Egypt only as a reward of faith (הָאֱמוּנָה), for it is said: *And the people trusted* (Ex. 4, 31). And thus it says: *Faithful ones (אֱמוּנִים) Jahveh preserves* (Ps. 31, 24), recalling the faithfulness (אֱמוּנָה) of the fathers. . . . In the case of possessors of faith (אֱמוּנָה) how is it? It says: *That the righteous nation which keeps faithfulness (אֱמוּנִים) may enter in* (Is. 26, 2). Into this gate all possessors of faith (אֱמוּנָה) enter. *It is a good thing to give thanks to Jahveh, and to sing to thy name, O Most High; to declare thy lovingkindness in the morning and thy faithfulness (אֱמוּנָתְךָ) in the nights. . . . For thou hast made me glad, O Jahveh, with thy deeds; at the work of thy hands I will cry out for joy* (Ps. 92, 2 ff.). What is the cause of men's attaining to this gladness? This is the reward of faith (אֱמוּנָה), whereby our fathers trusted in this world, which is wholly night.

For thus it is said: *to declare thy lovingkindness in the morning and thy faithfulness (אֱמוּנָתְךָ) in the nights.* And thus Jehoshaphat. . . . *Hear ye me, O Judah and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem; trust in Jahveh your God, and ye shall be established; trust in his prophets, and ye shall prosper* (2 Ch. 20, 20). And it is written: *Are not thine eyes upon faithfulness (אֱמוּנָה) (Jer. 5, 3)? But the righteous shall live by his faithfulness (אֱמוּנָתוֹ) (Hab. 2, 4).* And it is written: *They are new every morning; great is thy faithfulness (אֱמוּנָתְךָ) (Lam. 3, 23).* And thus thou findest that the Diaspora will be reunited only as a reward of faith (אֱמוּנָה); for it is said: *With me from Lebanon, bride, with me from Lebanon thou shalt come; thou shalt look from the top, etc. (Cant. 4, 8). And I will betroth thee unto me for ever; . . . and I will betroth thee unto me in faithfulness (אֱמוּנָה) (Hos. 2, 21 f.).* Oh, great is faith (אֱמוּנָה) before the Holy One (blessed is he!), for as a reward of faith (אֱמוּנָה) the Holy Spirit rested upon them. *And they sang a song, and they trusted in Jahveh and in Moses his servant. Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto Jahveh, and they trusted in Jahveh and in Moses his servant.* And thus he says: *And they trusted in his words; they sang his praise (Ps. 106, 12)."*<sup>1</sup>

The high value which the rabbis put on faith or trust in God is also evident from the following passage of the Mishna: "After the destruction of the temple . . . men of faith (אֲנָשֵׁי אֱמוּנָה) ceased from Israel"<sup>2</sup>—one of the many calamities which befell the Jewish people after the devastation of their sanctuary. Moreover, the merit derived from faith is once mentioned along with that which could be acquired by means of the Torah: "R. Joshua ben Levi said: In every place where the word לֹאִי is used, something hap-

Soṭa ix, 12;

Bereshith Rab-

ba on Gen.

31, 42; and

Soṭa, f. 49a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mekilta* on Ex. 14, 31 (ed. Weiss, 1865, pp. 40b f.). This work in its present form dates from the third century after Christ, but it contains much earlier material (cf. Weber, *System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie*, 1880, p. xx; and Lauterbach in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1901-1906, viii, p. 445).

<sup>2</sup> *Soṭa*, ix, 12. R. Ze'era, a Palestinian amora of the third generation quoted in the Gemara of the Jerusalem Talmud at this point, says that by "men of faith" must be understood those who devoted themselves to the study of the law. Cf. Schwab, *Le Talmud de Jérusalem* (1871-1889), vii, p. 340.

pened by the merit of the fathers except here. R. Zabdai ben Levi replied: Also here something happened by the merit of the fathers. R. Johanan said: (It happened) by the merit of sanctifying the (divine) name;<sup>1</sup> R. Levi said: (It happened) by the merit of faith (אמנה) and by the merit of Torah."<sup>2</sup> Finally, in the tractate of the Mishna quoted above we read: "R. Pinhas ben Jair said: Since the destruction of the temple . . . there is none that interprets (the Torah), and none that entreats (God), and none that asks. Upon whom can we lean (למשע)? Upon our Father who is in heaven."<sup>3</sup> Trust in God is expressed under the figure of leaning upon him twice more in this same section of *Šoṭa*, and in both cases among the words of R. Eliezer the Great, who was a prominent tanna of the second generation. The second of his sayings is concerned with the troublous times connected with the coming of the Messiah, when trust in the heavenly Father will be the only resource of men.

The faith or trust which is mentioned in these passages had God as its object, and was an indispensable element of Jewish piety; but, as in the earlier periods, it was wholly unmystical in character. In other words, the pious man was not in any sense borne beyond the sphere of his normal consciousness by his trust in God, nor did he feel himself to be brought by it into essential or metaphysical union with the Deity. It was simply trust in a personal God, who was sometimes conceived as the heavenly Father, the sole refuge and support of his people. The law was regarded as the glory and distinction of Israel, and fidelity to it was the mark of the true Jew; but trust in God of the sort just described was the heart of Jewish piety.

What was the rôle of faith or trust in the life and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, who was reared in a pious Jewish household and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the first petition of the Lord's Prayer.

<sup>2</sup> *Beresith Rabba*, § 74 (Wilna ed., 1878, i, p. 286). This valuable Midrash was written in Palestine, and in its present form probably dates from the sixth century of our era (cf. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii).

<sup>3</sup> *Šoṭa*, f. 49a. R. Pinhas ben Jair was a tanna of the fifth generation.

lived in a Jewish community? We shall confine ourselves to the synoptic account of his mission; but even so, the question bristles

with difficulties on account of the intricate critical problems which are involved. For it must be recognized that many of the sayings which the authors or redactors of the synoptic gospels have ascribed to Jesus

Jesus cannot have been in their present form a part of his teaching. They are rather reflections of early Christian thought which had become traditionally associated with the name of the Master, and must not be treated as genuine utterances of Jesus.

Perhaps the most obvious example of this tendency is the mention of the church as an institution in Mt. 16, 18 and 18, 17. Professor E. F. Scott, who has discussed this matter most recently, rightly holds that such sayings, at least in their present form, cannot have been uttered by Jesus (cf. *The Beginnings of the Church*, 1914, pp. 50 ff.). We shall limit our inquiry to three passages with which we are immediately concerned.

(a) Mt. 18, 6 = Mk. 9, 42 = Lk. 17, 2. According to Matthew Jesus speaks of causing one of the little ones who believe in him to stumble (τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ); whereas Mark omits εἰς ἐμέ (NC\* D Δ etc., followed by Tisch., W. H., Weiss, v. Sod.; but ABLW etc. add εἰς ἐμέ, doubtless by conflation with Mt.), and Luke has neither τῶν πιστευόντων nor εἰς ἐμέ. Since belief in Jesus was fundamental from the first in the church, and since the Master nowhere save in this passage of Matthew refers to his disciples as believing or trusting in him, we are obliged to conclude that the phrase εἰς ἐμέ in Mt. 18, 6 is an echo of apostolic thought rather than a part of Jesus' saying. So also Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (1913), p. 123, n. 1.

(b) Mt. 4, 17 = Mk. 1, 15 = Lk. 4, 15. According to Mark Jesus came into Galilee preaching the gospel of God and exhorting men to repent and believe in the gospel (μετανοεῖτε καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ). Matthew, however, mentions only the call to repentance; and Luke contents himself with the statement that "he taught in their synagogues, being glorified by all." Nowhere else in the synoptic record of his ministry does Jesus bid his hearers to believe in the gospel, and in Mk. 1, 15 the idea is introduced abruptly and without any explanation on the part of the Master. Mark represents Jesus as speaking of the gospel also in the following passages: 8, 35 (omitted in Mt. 16, 25 and Lk. 9, 24); 10, 29 (omitted in Mt. 19, 29 and Lk. 18, 29); 13, 10 = Mt. 24, 14 (Lk. omits); and 14, 9 = Mt. 26, 13. For τὸ εὐαγγέλιον the Aramaic-speaking Christians of Palestine may have used the word בשׁוּרְתָא (or בסׁוּרְתָא), which in the Targums and in rabbinical writings has the general sense of tidings. "The gospel" seems to mean the Christian message

of salvation (*Heilsbotschaft*), whose content is Jesus of Nazareth conceived as Messiah. It was the substance of the apostles' preaching, but in that of the Master himself both the word and the idea are inappropriate. So also Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium* (1903), p. 31; Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Marci*<sup>2</sup> (1909), p. 7; *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*<sup>2</sup> (1911), pp. 98 ff. and 147; Wendland, *Die urchristlichen Literaturformen* (1912), p. 258; Loisy, *Les évangiles synoptiques* (1907-1908), i, pp. 434 f. It is possible, however, that it may mean the good news just announced, i. e. that the Kingdom of God is at hand. So Burkitt, *The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus* (1910), p. 59; Allen, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark* (1915), pp. 57 f.; and Lake, *The Stewardship of Faith* (1915), pp. 29 ff.

On the phrase πιστεύειν ἐν, which occurs a few times in the LXX but in the New Testament only in Mk. 1, 15, see J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*<sup>3</sup> (1908), i, pp. 67 f. In Eph. 1, 13 the second ἐν ᾧ resumes the first and is governed by the verb ἐσφραγίσθητε, not by the participle πιστεύοντες.

(c) Mt. 13, 19 = Mk. 4, 15 = Lk. 8, 12. In the Lucan form of the Parable of the Sower Jesus says that the devil "comes and takes away the word from their (i. e. the hearers') heart, that they may not believe and be saved (ὅνα μὴ πιστεύσαντες σωθῶσιν)"; but neither Matthew nor Mark says anything about believing or being saved. Nowhere else in the synoptic gospels is it recorded that Jesus associated salvation with faith, and it is altogether probable that the combination of these two ideas arose in primitive Christian circles. Some, however, discern the influence of Pauline thought in Lk. 8, 12 (cf. Holtzmann in *Handcommentar zum N. T.*<sup>3</sup> (1901), i, 1, p. 349; Baljon, *Het Evangelie van Lukas* (1908), p. 193; and Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 1).

Nothing was more fundamental in Jesus' religious life than his trust in God, and πίστις and its cognates are by no means rare in the synoptic record of his sayings. In a single passage, in which he charges the hypocritical Pharisees with neglecting the weightier or more difficult requirements of the law, πίστις obviously has the meaning of faithfulness or fidelity;<sup>1</sup> while in one other place πιστεύειν clearly means to entrust.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere, however, except in a few cases where the verb means to believe,<sup>3</sup> both πίστις and πιστεύειν are used of faith or trust. It is worthy of note that nowhere in the discourses of Jesus does the substantive denote conviction or belief. The adjective

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mt. 23, 23 (Lk. 11, 42 omits πίστις).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lk. 16, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mt. 24, 23 = Mk. 13, 21; Mt. 24, 26 (Lk. 17, 23 omits πιστεύειν).

*πιστός* in the synoptic gospels always has the passive meaning of faithful or trustworthy in some business or station of life;<sup>1</sup> whereas its opposite *ἀπιστος* means both unfaithful<sup>2</sup> and without trust.<sup>3</sup> The substantive *ἀπιστία* and the verb *ἀπιστεῖν* in the evangelists denote an absence of faith or belief;<sup>4</sup> while in like manner *ὀλιγοπιστία* and *ὀλιγόπιστος*, which are found only in Matthew and Luke, are used of a small or insufficient amount of trust.<sup>5</sup>

Trust in Jahveh, as we have seen, was fundamental in Hebrew and Jewish piety, and in this respect Jesus was spiritually the heir of the prophets and psalmists of Israel. He trusted implicitly in God, whom he conceived as a wise and loving Father, and he taught his disciples to do likewise.<sup>6</sup> The Master himself seems to have lived constantly in this frame of mind.<sup>7</sup> He never asked his disciples to trust in himself rather than

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mt. 24, 45 = Lk. 12, 42; Mt. 25, 21 = Lk. 19, 17; Mt. 25, 23 (Lk. 19, 19 omits *πιστός*); Lk. 16, 10-12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lk. 12, 46 (Mt. 24, 51 has *ὑποκριτῶν*).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mt. 17, 17 = Mk. 9, 19 = Lk. 9, 41.

<sup>4</sup> For *ἀπιστία* cf. Mt. 13, 58 = Mk. 6, 6; Mk. 9, 24 (Mt. and Lk. omit); [Mk.] 16, 14. For *ἀπιστεῖν* cf. [Mk.] 16, 11, 16; Lk. 24, 11 (Mt. and Mk. omit); Lk. 24, 41. Cf. the rabbinical phrase *מחוסרי אמנה* (e. g. *Mekilta* on Ex. 16, 20 [ed. Weiss, 1865, p. 58b]; and *Siphre* on Dt. § 330 [ed. Friedmann, 1864, p. 139 b]).

<sup>5</sup> For *ὀλιγοπιστία* cf. Mt. 17, 20 (Mk. and Lk. omit). For *ὀλιγόπιστος* cf. Mt. 6, 30 = Lk. 12, 28; Mt. 8, 26 (Mk. 4, 40 and Lk. 8, 25 use *πίστις*); Mt. 14, 31 (Mk. omits); Mt. 16, 8 (Mk. 8, 17 omits *ὀλιγόπιστοι*). Cf. the rabbinical parallel *מקטני אמנה* (e. g. *Berakoth*, f. 24 b; *Pesahim*, f. 118 b; and *Ṣoṭa*, f. 48 b).

<sup>6</sup> Although God is explicitly mentioned as the object of trust only in Mk. 11, 22 (in Mt. 21, 21 no object is expressed), Jesus and his companions, being pious Jews, can have thought of no other being in whom to put their trust. So also Bousset, *Jesus* (1907), pp. 91 f.; and Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie* (1911), i, pp. 301 f. On the trust required in the case of cures, which was different, see *infra*, pp. 25 f.

<sup>7</sup> It is trust rather than belief with which we are concerned in the life and teaching of Jesus. Monnier (*La mission historique de Jésus*, 1914, pp. 176 f.) says: "La foi, dans l'Evangile, ne signifie jamais la croyance en Dieu. Jésus a dépassé ce stade: à vrai dire, jamais l'existence du Père n'a été sujette, dans son esprit, à la moindre incertitude. Il lui semblait tout naturel, à douze ans, d'être dans la maison de son Père (Lk. 2, 49). Il n'a pas connu le doute. Il a pu hésiter sur le parti qu'il avait à prendre: il n'a jamais douté de Dieu. Qu' était-ce donc que la foi? Essentiellement, la *confiance*."

in God;<sup>1</sup> nor did he demand of them faith in his own person,<sup>2</sup> though he felt that he had been divinely appointed to proclaim the coming of the Kingdom of God and to prepare men for it. He fully believed that he was the Messiah, but he did not make forgiveness or salvation dependent upon belief in his Messiahship. It was enough for him if he could persuade men to repent of their sins, to bring forth the fruits of righteousness, and to live in trust toward their heavenly Father, looking forward expectantly to the coming of the Kingdom.

Trust in God gave to those who had it a calm and wholesome view of life, banishing fear and making them courageous in the face of danger;<sup>3</sup> and when it was joined with prayer, trusting in God seemingly impossible results might be accomplished, as it were the casting of a mountain into the sea.<sup>4</sup>

Trust was also, according to the synoptic gospels, an indispensable factor in the curing of bodily infirmities; for Jesus often said to one who had just been healed, "Thy trust has restored thee," and it is recorded that sometimes a cure was effected on account of the trust of someone who was interested in the sick person.<sup>5</sup> The cures form a class by themselves; for in this connection *πίστις* means trust or confidence that Jesus is able to restore the afflicted person to health

<sup>1</sup> On Mt. 18, 6 see *supra*, p. 22, a.

<sup>2</sup> The Johannine Christ, on the other hand, exhorts his hearers to believe in himself with the same breath with which he bids them to believe in God (cf. Jn. 14, 1); and he solemnly declares, "He who believes in me believes not in me but in him who sent me" (Jn. 12, 44).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mt. 8, 26 (*ὀλιγόπιστοι*) = Mk. 4, 40 = Lk. 8, 25. It is possible that the object of trust here is the power of Jesus to still the storm (cf. Allen on Matthew in *The Internat. Crit. Com.*, 1910, p. 83); and if so, the stilling of the storm on the lake should be grouped with the cures. Probably, however, in view of the saying about the sparrows and the hairs of the head in Mt. 10, 29-31 = Lk. 12, 6-7, trust in God as the providential ruler of all things and the disciples' heavenly Father is meant.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mt. 17, 20; Mt. 21, 21 = Mk. 11, 22 f.; Lk. 17, 6. See also Jas. 5, 15, where it is said that the prayer which springs from faith or trust will save a sick brother.

<sup>5</sup> Trust is mentioned in connection with cures in the following places: Mt. 9, 2 = Mk. 2, 5 = Lk. 5, 20; Mt. 9, 22 = Mk. 5, 34 = Lk. 8, 48; Mt. 17, 20 (*ὀλιγοπιστία*; Mk. and Lk. omit); Mk. 10, 52 = Lk. 18, 42 (Mt. 20, 34 says nothing about the blind



rather than trust in God, just as the patient to-day trusts in the ability of his physician to cure him. Such trust in Jesus' power to heal was psychologically necessary for the effecting of a cure.

Jesus' trust in God was simply whole-hearted trust in or reliance upon one whom he felt to be his wise and loving Father. It was doubtless more intense and constant than the prophets' and psalmists' trust in Jahveh, but it was not different in kind. In Philo and Paul, as we shall see later, faith (*πίστις*) is mystical; but Jesus' trust in his heavenly Father had no such character.

Jesus, as we have seen, did not ask or desire his hearers to trust in him; but if we may put any confidence at all in the synoptic record of his ministry, he demanded from his disciples absolute loyalty to himself and his cause. They must not be ashamed of him and his words, lest the Son of Man should also be ashamed of them "when he comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels."<sup>1</sup> They must feel the strongest personal affection for their Master,<sup>2</sup> and for his sake they must be willing to undergo suffering and even death.<sup>3</sup> To receive him was to receive the Father who sent him, and to reject him was to reject God.<sup>4</sup> Such whole-hearted and stanch loyalty Jesus required of all who wished to be his followers.<sup>5</sup>

When we pass from Jesus to the community of believers which was formed in Jerusalem after his death and resurrection, we are at once conscious that *πίστις* is no longer simple trust in God; for the

men's *πίστις*); Mt. 15, 28 (Mk. 7, 29 does not mention the Syrophenician woman's *πίστις*); Mt. 8, 10 = Lk. 7, 9; Mt. 9, 29; Lk. 7, 50; Lk. 17, 19.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mk. 8, 38 = Lk. 9, 26 (Mt. omits).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mt. 19, 27 ff. = Mk. 10, 28 ff. = Lk. 18, 28 ff.; Mt. 10, 37; Lk. 14, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mt. 5, 11 f.; Lk. 6, 22 f.; Mk. 13, 9 = Lk. 21, 12; Mt. 10, 18; Mt. 24, 9 = Mk. 13, 13 = Lk. 21, 17; Mt. 10, 22; Mt. 16, 24 f. = Mk. 8, 34 f. = Lk. 9, 23 f.; Mt. 10, 38 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mk. 9, 37 = Lk. 9, 48 (Mt. omits); Mt. 10, 40; Lk. 10, 16.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also the following passages, in which something is done in or by the name of Jesus (*ἐν* or *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι*, *eis τὸ ὄνομα*, or simply *τῷ ὀνόματι*): Mt. 18, 5 = Mk. 9, 37 = Lk. 9, 48; Mt. 24, 5 = Mk. 13, 6 = Lk. 21, 8; Mk. 9, 38 = Lk. 9, 49; Mt. 7, 22; 18, 20; Mk. 9, 39, 41 (Lk. omits); Lk. 10, 17; 24, 47; [Mk.] 16, 17.

idea of conviction or belief now predominates over that of trust in both the substantive *πίστις* and the verb *πιστεύειν*.<sup>1</sup> The content of the Christians' belief was that God had raised Jesus from the dead and exalted him to heaven, and that thereby he had been made both Lord and Messiah (*κύριος καὶ χριστός*).<sup>2</sup>

Jesus was probably called "my Lord" (*מרי* = *ὁ κύριός μου*) or "our Lord" (*מר* or *מרנא* = *ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν*) by his disciples even during his lifetime. In Aramaic the phrase denotes either human or divine sovereignty, and in reference to Jesus it would indicate the respect which his followers felt for him as their teacher (*διδάσκαλος*). (On the use of *מר* in rabbinical sources see Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 1898, i, pp. 267 f.). In any case the occurrence of *μαρὰν ἀθά* in 1 Cor. 16, 22 and *Didache* 10, 6 points naturally to the conclusion that he was spoken of or addressed as Lord among Palestinian Christians after his resurrection and exaltation into heaven, where he was thought of as sitting at the right hand of God. After his resurrection the Lordship of Jesus assumed a new and deeper significance; or if, as seems less likely, he was not called Lord until after he had risen from the dead, the title had this deeper significance from the first. Cf. Dalman, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 266 ff.; and Case in *Jour. of Bib. Lit.*, xxvi (1907), pp. 151 ff.; *The Evolution of Early Christianity* (1914), pp. 116 ff.; Bacon, *Jesus the Son of God* (1911), pp. 53 ff.; and Vos in *The Princeton Theol. Rev.*, xiii (1915), pp. 161 ff. Bousset, however, on the ground that *κύριος* as a title is not used of Jesus in the oldest strata of the synoptic gospels, thinks that its use in Peter's speeches is due to the usage of the time in which the author of Acts himself lived (cf. *Kyrios Christos*, 1913, pp. 94 ff.).

It was also expected that he would soon return to earth and set up the Messianic kingdom. Upon this belief in the Lordship and Messiahship of Jesus and in his speedy return to inaugurate the Kingdom of God the Christian community was built up, and by it

<sup>1</sup> Our sources for this phase of Christianity are the first part of Acts and certain passages contained in the synoptic gospels. Both, however, must be used with great care; for the speeches in Acts are certainly not the *ipsissima verba* of the speakers, and legends have undoubtedly been wrought into the narrative portions of the book. Again, in regard to the passages in the synoptic gospels referred to above, it is often difficult to extricate with confidence the primitive Christian material from the context in which it stands. Nevertheless, in spite of these limitations it is possible to form a tolerably accurate idea of the beliefs and practices of the Palestinian Christians after the death and resurrection of their Master.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ac. 2, 36; 10, 36. *Χριστός* in the former of these passages is clearly a title, being the equivalent of the Aramaic *משיחא*. The word had not yet become a proper name, as it often is in the letters of Paul.

men and women were drawn into the fellowship and held together in the bonds of a fraternal religious society.

Thus the faith of the Christians of Palestine centered in Jesus as Lord and Messiah,<sup>1</sup> and it was primarily intellectual in character.

**Faith in Jesus** But it also carried with it important ethical consequences, for it brought the believer into submission to the rule of Christ; and furthermore it formed the basis of the disciples' religious and social life. There were, however, no traces of mysticism in the faith of this early period; for though the believer by virtue of his confession became a member of the Christian community and a prospective participant in the coming Messianic kingdom, he did not enter into mystical fellowship with Christ or God through faith, nor was it a mystical state of mind. The Palestinian Christians were mostly Jews, and their faith was a purely Jewish product. It contained no elements derived from the philosophical thought or religious life of the Graeco-Roman world, to which they were by instinct and tradition hostile.

We have now traced the idea of trust in God from its first appearance in the Old Testament down to the time of Jesus and the disciples who gathered in Jerusalem after his death and resurrection. A continuous line of development extends backwards from the latter date to a very early period in the history of the Hebrews. And if we were able to follow the trail still farther, it would doubtless be found to run a long way back into the pre-literary period of Israelitish history; for it is impossible to believe that so clear an apprehension of the value and significance of trusting in Jahveh as we meet with in the story of Abraham can have arisen suddenly or without the way having been prepared for it in advance. The idea of trust in God, so far as we have examined it, is wholly Hebraic and Jewish, and no traces of mysticism are discernible in it. Two Jews of the Diaspora, however, Philo of Alexandria and Paul of Tarsus, as we shall see later, absorbed a certain amount of mysticism from their Hellenistic environment and incorporated it into their conception of faith; but in Palestine trust

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ac. 3, 16; 9, 42; 11, 17; Mt. 18, 6 (see *supra*, p. 22, a).

in God was unaffected by any such extraneous influence. It was confidence in or reliance upon Jahveh — the pious man's normal attitude of heart and mind; and it involved a definite relation to God, who, as we have seen, was conceived at different times as standing in various relations to men, but who was always thought of as a personal being.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PAULINE IDEA OF FAITH

THE accession of Paul of Tarsus to the ranks of the Christians marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of Christianity. He was a man of larger natural endowment and of more culture than the others, and he had had a religious experience so profound that it completely changed the current of his life.

Thirteen letters have come down to us under the name of Paul, each being written to meet the needs of some particular situation.

**His letters** Out of this number, in the opinion of the present writer, ten may with considerable confidence be regarded as genuine products of the Apostle's mind: 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians. The Pastoral Epistles must be excluded from discussion in our attempt to reconstruct Paul's conception of faith; for, although they probably contain letters or parts of letters which are of Pauline origin, in their present form they are certainly later than the Apostle's time. By way of illustration, however, reference may properly be made to them. The ten letters which we consider genuine were all written during the last decade and a quarter (more or less) of Paul's life, and hence they represent his mature thought. They fall naturally into three groups, which are distinguished from each other in style and subject-matter as well as in time — the Thessalonian correspondence (1 and 2 Thess.), the four major epistles (Gal., 1 and 2 Cor., Rom.), and the letters of the imprisonment (Phm., Col., Eph., Phil.). When one advances from the earlier to the later epistles, one cannot but be conscious of a development in the Apostle's thought; for under the guidance of experience and reflection he moved freely from one position to another, but without veering about or backing up for a new start — a fact which gives to his thinking a unity and consistency that would otherwise be lacking.

The writer believes, in spite of the arguments advanced in favor of the priority of Galatians, that First Thessalonians is the earliest and Philippians the latest of the genuine letters of Paul. On the basis of a Delphic inscription by which the date of Gallio's entrance upon the proconsulship of Achaia can be determined, Deissmann has shown that the Apostle "came to Corinth in the first months of the year 50" (cf. *Paulus*, 1911, p. 174). Inasmuch as Timothy probably arrived in Corinth soon after Paul, and since First Thessalonians was written shortly after Timothy's arrival (cf. 1 Thess. 3, 6), the letter may with good reason be assigned to the spring of 50 A.D. Cf. Frame on Thess. in *The Internat. Crit. Com.* (1912), p. 9. The Epistle to the Philippians reflects an impending crisis in Paul's life, and was undoubtedly written near the end of his two years' custody in Rome, which seems to have terminated with his death. In other words, the liberation, subsequent arrest, and second imprisonment of the Apostle to the Gentiles are probably unhistorical. It is difficult to fix the date of Philippians with precision, but it is probably not earlier than 60 (Bacon) nor later than 63 (Zahn). The present writer believes that the Pauline nucleus of Second Timothy is of approximately the same date as Philippians.

Even the casual reader of the New Testament is impressed with the prominence which the ideas of faith and believing have in the epistles of Paul, and this impression is confirmed by a glance at the Greek concordance of Moulton and Geden. In this study we are interested in ideas rather than in words; but since we can learn the Apostle's ideas only through his use of words, we must first examine carefully the words which relate to faith and believing in his letters. They are six in number.

The following table will show the use of this group of words in the ten genuine epistles:

	πίστις	πιστεύειν	πιστός	ἀπιστία	ἀπιστεῖν	ἀπίστος
1 Thess.....	8	5	1	..	..	..
2 Thess.....	5	4	1	..	..	..
Gal.....	22	4	1	..	..	..
1 Cor.....	7	9	5	..	..	11
2 Cor.....	7	2	2	..	..	3
Rom.....	40	21	..	4	1	..
Phm.....	2	..	..	..	..	..
Col.....	5	..	4	..	..	..
Eph.....	8	2	2	..	..	..
Phil.....	5	1	..	..	..	..
	109	48	16	4	1	14

It is not necessary to give here the various shades of meaning which these words have, for they can readily be learned from any lexicon of the New Testament or from commentaries.<sup>1</sup>

**The meaning of πίστις and πιστεῖν in Paul**

But it is important to note that four distinct ideas are denoted by πίστις in Paul — (1) *conviction* or *belief*; (2) *trust*; (3) *faith*; and (4) *faithfulness* or *fidelity*. In like manner the verb πιστεῖν means: (1) *to be convinced* or *to believe*; (2) *to trust*; (3) *to have faith*; and (4) *to entrust*.

It is a significant fact that Paul uses πίστις only twice in the sense of faithfulness — once as an attribute of God and once as a Christian virtue. The Jews, according to the Apostle, had forfeited their distinctive advantage by not believing in Christ; but yet it would be the height of unreason to suppose that their unbelief could bring to naught God's faithfulness to his promises.<sup>2</sup> Again, in the hortatory part of the Epistle to the Galatians Paul draws up a list of vices called "the works of the flesh"; and then he proceeds to give a corresponding catalogue of virtues, which he designates "the fruit of the Spirit." Among the latter he mentions πίστις, which in view of the context must mean faithfulness, or honesty in one's dealings with one's fellows.<sup>3</sup> The Apostle believed that love was the fulfilment of the law of Moses, and that love sprang from faith.<sup>4</sup> The law was thus superseded for him as the fundamental and all-sufficient rule of life, and with it of course went the fidelity to it by which he had been actuated as a Pharisee.

<sup>1</sup> For a compact statement of the various meanings of πίστις in Paul see Lietzmann's note on Rom. 4, 21 in *Handbuch zum N. T.* (1910).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rom. 3, 3. Some scholars (e. g. Weiss, Lipsius, *et al.*) take ἀπιστία here in the sense of unfaithfulness. But elsewhere in the New Testament the word means want of faith or unbelief, and the main point in the present context is the Jews' unbelief, i. e. their failure to believe in the promises of the Old Testament. Hence, on lexical as well as contextual grounds, it seems better to interpret ἀπιστία in this passage as unbelief (Meyer, Gifford, Sanday-Headlam) rather than unfaithfulness. On the other hand in 2 Tim. 2, 13 the faithfulness of Christ is contrasted with the unfaithfulness of Christians. Here, however, the substantive ἀπιστία is not used.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gal. 5, 22. So also Lightfoot, Sieffert, Zahn, *et al.* In Tit. 2, 10 πίστις is used of the fidelity of slaves; and in 1 Tim. 5, 12 it means the widows' faith solemnly pledged to their deceased husbands (cf. ἡ ἀγάπη ἡ πρόση in Rev. 2, 4).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 53.

This fact accounts in large measure for the infrequency of the idea of faithfulness in the letters of Paul.

The active meaning of *πίστις*, which was developed out of the ideas of belief and trust, predominates in the epistles of Paul, and in its specifically Pauline sense it gives character to his conception of Christianity. Though faith, as we shall see presently, has been foreordained by God, it begins with the preaching and receptive hearing of the gospel;<sup>1</sup> but it is by no means solely the work of man, for it is dependent upon the power of God.<sup>2</sup> In other words, the inception of the converts' faith is due to the action of a divine power working upon them through human agents; and from this point of view the missionaries' message is called "the word of God" or "the gospel of God,"<sup>3</sup> and "the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rom. 10, 8, 14, 17; 1 Cor. 15, 11; Gal. 3, 2, 5; Eph. 1, 13; 1 Thess. 2, 13. In Rom. 10, 8 τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως does not mean the message whose subject is faith (Sanday-Headlam, Weiss, *et al.*). It is rather the message which aims at faith (gen. of direction or aim, on which cf. Blass-Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*,<sup>4</sup> 1913, p. 102), for according to v. 17 faith comes from preaching (ἐκ ἀκοῆς), and preaching (ἡ ἀκοή) is through the word of Christ (διὰ ῥήματος Χριστοῦ). On the latter cf. *infra*, p. 34, n. 1. The word ἀκοή, which sometimes has the sense of report both in classical Greek and in the LXX, means specifically the preaching of the gospel in the following passages of the New Testament: Jn. 12, 38 (Is. 53, 1 LXX); Rom. 10, 16 f. (Is. 53, 1 LXX); Gal. 3, 2 and 5. In the two last-mentioned verses the phrase ἀκοή πίστεως does not mean the hearing that comes of faith (Lightfoot, Lipsius, Schlatter, *Der Glaube im N. T.*<sup>5</sup>, 1905, pp. 612 f., *et al.*), but the preaching which aims at faith (Siefert); for according to Rom. 10, 17 faith comes ἐκ ἀκοῆς, i. e. from preaching, and not ἀκοή from faith. The sequence is: preaching, faith, reception of the Spirit. In 1 Thess. 2, 13 λόγον ἀκοῆς (cf. Eccus. 42, 1 λόγον ἀκοῆς = Heb. דְּבַר תְּשׁוּעָה) is equivalent to λόγον ὃν ἠκούσατε. Cf. also Heb. 4, 2 ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς. For the acceptance of the gospel message Paul uses παραλαμβάνειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (1 Cor. 15, 1; Gal. 1, 9) or λόγον (1 Thess. 2, 13) and δέχεσθαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (2 Cor. 11, 4) or τὸν λόγον (1 Thess. 1, 6; 2, 13). The verbs in these expressions differ in that παραλαμβάνειν means simply to receive the missionaries' message, whereas δέχεσθαι implies a recognition of its worth — to welcome the gospel or the word. The contrast between παραλαμβάνοντες and δέξασθε in 1 Thess. 2, 13 makes this distinction clear. Cf. Frame on Thess., pp. 83 and 107. For the phrase δέχεσθαι τὸν λόγον cf. also Lk. 8, 13; Ac. 8, 14; 11, 1; 17, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 2, 4 f. By ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν in v. 5 the Apostle clearly means the beginning of the Corinthians' faith. On this passage cf. *infra*, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> For ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ cf. 1 Cor. 14, 36; 2 Cor. 2, 17; 4, 2; Phil. 1, 14; Col. 1, 25; 1 Thess. 2, 13. For τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ cf. Rom. 15, 16; 2 Cor. 11, 7; 1 Thess. 2, 2;



word of Christ" or "the gospel of Christ."<sup>1</sup> Paul also speaks of it as "the word of the cross,"<sup>2</sup> "the word of reconciliation,"<sup>3</sup> "the word of truth,"<sup>4</sup> and "the word of life";<sup>5</sup> and in the Epistle to the Ephesians it is termed, with reference to its soteriological effect, "the gospel of your salvation."<sup>6</sup> If the hearers do not believe, the preachers' efforts are in vain and the gospel as "a power of God unto salvation" is wholly ineffective; but if, on the other hand, they do believe that Christ died for their sins and that God raised him from the dead,<sup>7</sup> they can be saved and the divine purpose accomplished.

2, 8, 9. Cf. also Mk. 1, 14 and 1 Pet. 4, 17. Since the preachers are Christians, God is in them (1 Cor. 14, 25; 2 Cor. 6, 16) and they are in him (1 Thess. 1, 1; cf. 2, 2.). Therefore their message is really the word or gospel of God.

<sup>1</sup> For *ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ* cf. Col. 3, 16 (N<sup>o</sup>BD etc.; τοῦ κυρίου N<sup>o</sup>; τοῦ θεοῦ AC<sup>\*</sup>). For *ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου* cf. 1 Thess. 1, 8; 2 Thess. 3, 1. For *ῥῆμα Χριστοῦ* cf. Rom. 10, 17 (N<sup>o</sup>BCD<sup>\*</sup> etc.; θεοῦ A etc.). For *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ* cf. Rom. 15, 19; 1 Cor. 9, 12; 2 Cor. 2, 12; 9, 13; 10, 14; Gal. 1, 7; Phil. 1, 27; 1 Thess. 3, 2. *Ῥήματος Χριστοῦ* in Rom. 10, 17 is explained by some as a message about Christ (Lipsius, Sanday-Headlam, *et al.*) and by others as the command of Christ (Weiss, Lietzmann, *et al.*). But the phrase is equivalent to *ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου* (cf. *supra*); and this is clearly a reminiscence of "the word of the Lord" (רַבִּי הַיְיָ = LXX *λόγος κυρίου*) in the Old Testament, which denotes a divine revelation — the word spoken by Jahveh. Hence it seems to the present writer altogether probable that *ῥῆμα Χριστοῦ* means the word spoken or inspired by the 'pneumatic' Christ, who dwells in all believers, *Χριστοῦ* being a subjective genitive. Thus the missionaries' message is really the utterance of Christ himself. Cf. Harnack, *Kirchenverfassung und Kirchenrecht* (1910), pp. 245 ff.; Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*<sup>2</sup> (1911), pp. 98 ff.; and Fränke on Thess. in *The Internat. Crit. Com.* (1912), pp. 80 f. See also v. Dobschütz on Thess. in Meyer's *Kommentar*<sup>7</sup> (1909), p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 1, 18 *ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ* (obj. gen.). The content of the preachers' message is the death of Christ and its significance. Cf. 1 Cor. 1, 23; 2, 2; 15, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. 5, 19 *τὸν λόγον τῆς καταλλαγῆς* (obj. gen.). "The word of reconciliation" is the means whereby God's changed attitude to men's offenses is made known.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. 6, 7; Eph. 1, 13; Col. 1, 5. Truth (*τῆς ἀληθείας* obj. gen.) is the substance or content of the missionaries' word (*ὁ λόγος*).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Phil. 2, 16 *λόγον ζωῆς* (obj. gen.), i. e. the word concerning the believer's life in mystical fellowship with Christ.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eph. 1, 13 *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν*. The genitive *τῆς σωτηρίας* denotes direction or aim rather than content (Meyer, v. Soden, Abbott, *et al.*), so that the phrase means the gospel which aims at or produces salvation. Cf. Rom. 1, 16; Ac. 13, 26; 16, 17.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 3 f.; Rom. 10, 9; Col. 2, 12. These two thoughts are fundamental in the Apostle's presentation of the gospel. In Col. 2, 12 *τῆς ἐργίας* is an

Hence towards the end of his life Paul hoped to hear that his Philippian friends were striving together in mutual fellowship and with unanimity in the interest of faith in the gospel, being affrighted in nothing by their adversaries.<sup>1</sup>

It might perhaps be supposed that faith is merely a conviction concerning certain alleged facts or the intellectual acceptance of the gospel message; and there are a few passages in which the verb *πιστεῖν* is used in reference to a purely intellectual act. In these cases believing is equivalent to being convinced or persuaded that something is true, as when the Apostle declares in the Epistle to the Romans, "But if we died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him."<sup>2</sup> But faith is from the beginning much more than belief or conviction, for it involves the feelings and the will as well as the intellect. Trust and loyalty are included in it. If faith were purely intellectual, it might conceivably be the starting-point of a new and better life, but it never could be the basic and permanent principle of a mystical type of religion like the Pauline conception of Christianity.

Faith is of divine origin and comes from above; for long before the work of evangelization began and back of it in his eternal plan God chose believers unto salvation by that sanctification of life which springs from the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and by faith in the truth of the gospel.<sup>3</sup> Faith indeed,

objective genitive (v. Soden, Haupt, Abbott), like *τῇ πιστεὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* in Phil. 1, 27 and *πιστεὶ ἀληθείας* in 2 Thess. 2, 13.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Phil. 1, 27 f. In the clause *μὴ ψυχῇ συναθλοῦντες τῇ πιστεὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* it is best to take *τῇ πιστεὶ* as a *dativus commodi* and *τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* as an objective genitive. *Πιστις* here means the hearer's personal reaction on the preacher's message (Haupt), or the faith which the gospel demanded, not 'the faith,' i. e. the teaching or content of the gospel (Lightfoot). The latter sense, which the word clearly has in Jude 3 and 20, is not found in the genuine letters of Paul. In Gal. 1, 23 *τὴν πίστιν* denotes the attitude of believers (Sieffert), while in 3, 23 it means the new régime of faith as opposed to the old dispensation of the law. On the other hand in the Pastoral Epistles *ἡ πίστις* seems sometimes to be used in the sense of *fides quae creditur*: 1 Tim. 1, 19; 4, 1, 6; 6, 10, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. 6, 8. For other instances cf. Rom. 10, 9; 1 Thess. 4, 14; Jn. 6, 69; 11, 27, 42; 13, 19; 14, 10; 16, 27, 30; 17, 8, 21; 1 Jn. 5, 1, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 2 Thess. 2, 13. The phrase *ἐν ἀγιασμῷ πνεύματος καὶ πιστεὶ ἀληθείας*, which belongs to the whole sentence rather than to *εἴλατο* or *εἰς σωτηρίαν* in particular, denotes

like certain other distinctive features of the Christian's life, is a gift of God, who imparts it to each believer in such measure as he wills.<sup>1</sup> Inasmuch as the missionaries' word is really God's word and Christ speaks in them, Paul can write to the Corinthians as follows: "My word and my preaching were not in persuasive words of (worldly) wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that your faith might not be dependent upon the wisdom of men, but upon the power of God."<sup>2</sup> The preachers are simply the instruments which God, or Christ, or the Spirit employs in order that men may hear and believe. At the end of the Epistle to the Ephesians the Apostle wishes the brethren spiritual "peace and love along with faith from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ,"<sup>3</sup> just as grace and peace nearly always have this double source in the salutations of the Pauline epistles.<sup>4</sup> Hence faith is not only divinely foreordained as a part of God's providential plan; it is also of divine origin, so that all thought of personal merit or superiority on the part of the believer is excluded. Whatever measure of faith a

the means by which, or perhaps the state in which, God's purpose of salvation is realized. The means or state is as much a part of God's appointment as the end.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rom. 12, 3. *Πιστεις* here does not stand for "all those gifts which are given to man with or as the result of his faith" (Sanday-Headlam), but is used in its proper sense to denote the condition or ground of those endowments (Weiss).

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. 2, 4 f. *Ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος* (subj. gen.) means the demonstration which proceeds from or is wrought by the indwelling Spirit (Findlay, J. Weiss). Cf. 1 Thess. 1, 5. It is difficult to determine the exact meaning of the preposition *ἐν* in the phrases *ἐν σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων* and *ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ*. It may denote either the sphere in which the converts' faith is (Robertson-Plummer) or the foundation on which it rests (Lietzmann, J. Weiss). The general idea, however, is perfectly clear, viz. that the believers' faith is dependent not upon the wisdom of men, but upon the power of God.

<sup>3</sup> Eph. 6, 23. *Πιστεις* here is not an external accompaniment of *ἐλπίς* and *ἀγάπη*, both of which depend upon faith. Hence Haupt (in Meyer's *Kommentar*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed. 1902, p. 246) rightly says: "Im Gegenteil beruht auch unsere Stelle auf dem Gedanken, dass jedes religiöse Gut im Christentum nur auf der Grundlage des Glaubens ruht."

<sup>4</sup> Col. 1, 2, which mentions only "God our Father" (BD etc.; *add. καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* SAC etc.), is the sole exception; for in 1 Thess. 1, 1 the double source is implied in the preceding clause. In the superscriptions of 1 and 2 Tim. mercy (*ἐλεος*) is inserted between grace and peace, and all three have a common source in "God the Father and Christ Jesus our Lord."

Christian possesses is due solely to grace. Paul tells the Romans that even the gift of inspired utterance (*προφητεία*) is to be exercised according to the proportion or measure of faith which the prophet has received from God.<sup>1</sup>

Faith is the primary and fundamental matter, because without it the gospel is not able to save, and upon it, as we shall see, depends everything that is connected with the Christian life — membership in the community of believers, mystical fellowship with Christ, and all the blessings comprised under the name of salvation. Faith is so essential and characteristic an element of the Christian life that Paul frequently speaks of Christians as believers (*οἱ πιστεύοντες* or *οἱ πιστοί*) without specifying the nature or object of their faith<sup>2</sup> — a fact which shows that Christianity, however it may have been conceived and presented at other periods of its history, was for the Apostle a religion based on faith. In like manner the verb *πιστεῖν* means to be a Christian, or in the aorist to become a Christian, no less than thirteen times in the letters of Paul. Thus, for example, he writes to the brethren in Rome, "For now is our salvation nearer than when we became Christians (*ἐπιστεύσαμεν*)."<sup>3</sup>

In the Old Testament and in the discourses of Jesus, as we have already seen, the object of trust is always God. To him, and to him alone, the heart of the pious went out in trust; and Abraham's faith or trust in Jahveh is typical of that of his race. Paul once uses *πίστις* of the faith

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rom. 12, 6. *Τῆς πίστεως* here has clearly the same sense as *πίστεως* in v. 3. It cannot possibly mean 'the faith,' i. e. the content of Christian teaching (Liddon, Cornely) — a meaning which is both repugnant to the context and without parallel in the genuine letters of Paul. On the phrase *κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως* cf. Schlatter, *Der Glaube im N. T.*<sup>3</sup> (1905), pp. 613 f.

<sup>2</sup> For *οἱ πιστεύοντες*, which is timeless, cf. Rom. 3, 22; 4, 11; 1 Cor. 1, 21; 14, 22 bis; Gal. 3, 22; Eph. 1, 19; 1 Thess. 1, 7; 2, 10, 13; 1 Pet. 2, 7. Cf. also Is. 28, 16 *ὁ πιστεύων* (add. *ἐπ' αὐτῷ* NAQ; Heb. *יִשְׁמְעֵל*). The aorist *οἱ πιστεύσαντες*, which appears elsewhere in the New Testament ([Mk.] 16, 17; Ac. 2, 44; 4, 32; Heb. 4, 3), is used by Paul in this sense only once, viz. in 2 Thess. 1, 10 (NABD etc.). For *πιστός* or *πιστοί* cf. 2 Cor. 6, 15; Eph. 1, 1; Ac. 10, 45; 1 Tim. 4, 3, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. 13, 11. The aorist *ἐπιστεύσαμεν* is inceptive or ingressive. Cf. also 1 Cor. 3, 5 and 15, 2.

or belief of the Thessalonians as converts to Christianity, and here it is directed towards God, who had elected them to it. By implication it is contrasted with their former belief in pagan divinities.<sup>1</sup> Although ethical and religious consequences of the greatest importance were involved in the Thessalonians' change of belief, the dominant note in the phrase "faith towards God" here is intellectual.<sup>2</sup>

But, as has been pointed out above, the primitive disciples who assembled in Jerusalem after the death and resurrection of their Master recognized him as Lord and Messiah; and this conviction or belief concerning him, which was the corner-stone of the Palestinian church, easily passed over into faith or trust in Jesus. So, too, in the epistles of Paul faith is nearly always related to Christ; but in this case it is something more than belief or trust in him as Lord or Messiah. For the Apostle faith is the basic principle of Christianity and the distinguishing characteristic of Christians; and in order to understand its nature we must start from the Pauline view of the Christian life, for it is solely by virtue of faith that a person becomes and remains a Christian.

To be a Christian in Paul's sense of the term is to be "in Christ," i. e. to be in mystical fellowship with him,<sup>3</sup> and Christ is identified

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Thess. 1, 8 ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. This phrase, with or without the article before θεόν, is found only here in the New Testament and is rare in the LXX (4 Macc. 15, 24; 16, 22); but it occurs no less than six times in the writings of Philo (cf. E. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 1889, pp. 86 f.; and Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 581). Πίστις is used with εἰς θεόν in 1 Pet. 1, 21 and with ἐπὶ θεόν in Heb. 6, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Philo *De Somn.* i, 12 μηδέποτε τῆς πρὸς θεόν πίστεως καὶ ἀφανοῦς ὑπολήψεως ἀφιστάμενον. The verb πιστεῖν has God as its object only three times in Paul (Rom. 4, 3, 17; Gal. 3, 6). In Rom. 4, 3 and Gal. 3, 6 the Apostle is quoting the LXX, and in all three passages the subject under discussion is Abraham's faith or trust in Jahveh. In Rom. 4, 17 this is interpreted to mean the patriarch's trust in God who restores the dead to life — a fact having an important bearing on the interpretation of those Pauline passages in which a personal object is not expressed or implied with πιστεῖν.

<sup>3</sup> The relationship is expressed by the following formulae: ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐν Ἰησοῦ, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, and ἐν κυρίῳ. These phrases first appear in Paul among the writers of the New Testament, and it was doubtless he who first applied to Christ the idea for which they stand. In Acts, 1 Peter, the Johannine writings, and Jude (only in v. 1) they occur much less frequently; and they are not found at all in Hebrews, James, and 2 Peter. For statistics cf. Deissmann, *Die neutestamentliche Formel "in Christo Jesu"* (1892), pp. 1 ff.

with the divine Spirit.<sup>1</sup> The relation expressed by this characteristically Pauline phrase, which is new only in so far as Christ is the medium in which the fellowship is realized,<sup>2</sup> is conceived in a thoroughly realistic and mystical way. The 'pneumatic' Christ is the atmosphere or element in which the believer lives,<sup>3</sup> and he in turn is possessed, controlled, and transformed by it. The new air, charged, as it were, with divine power, produces in him a new kind of life, and under its influence he becomes a "new creature"<sup>4</sup> and has

**The Pauline  
conception of  
the Christian  
life**

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. 3, 17 ὁ δὲ κύριος (i. e. Christ) τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν. Hence ἐν πνεύματι, ἐν Χριστῷ, and ἐν κυρίῳ are substantially equivalent expressions in Paul, but nevertheless the personality of Christ is not lost in the idea of the Spirit. With 2 Cor. 3, 17, which contains the Apostle's conception of Christ in brief, should be compared three other passages — 1 Cor. 1, 24; 2, 8; and 15, 45. Cf. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*<sup>2</sup> (1911), ii, pp. 90 ff.; and Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (1913), p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> The phrases ἐν κυρίῳ and ἐν πνεύματι are found in the LXX (cf., e. g., Judg. 21, 7; 1 Sam. 10, 22; Ezek. 11, 24; Zech. 4, 6). Deissmann has carefully investigated the use of ἐν with a singular noun or pronoun denoting a person (cf. *Die neutestamentliche Formel "in Christo Jesu,"* 1892, pp. 34 ff.). He points out that in very many cases ἐν in the LXX is simply a mechanical rendering of the Hebrew ב (cf. pp. 55 f.); but in Paul's use of it he finds no trace of Hebraic influence (cf. p. 65).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Deissmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f. Haussleiter, however, protests against the idea that there is anything local in Paul's conception (cf. *Greifswalder Studien*, 1895, p. 164). The Apostle regards Christ as a πνεῦμα (cf. 2 Cor. 3, 17), and a πνεῦμα is for him, as it was for other Greek-speaking people of the first century, a very highly attenuated form of matter. It is therefore quite possible for him to think of a person as being in Christ, and *vice versa* of Christ as being in an individual. Cf., e. g., ἵνα ἐνάρχωμαι καὶ πνεύσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα (Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*,<sup>3</sup> 1910, p. 4, ll. 13 f.); μένε σὺν ἐμὲ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μου, μὴ με καταλείψῃς (*ibid.*, p. 14, ll. 24 f.); χαῖρε, τὸ εἰσερχόμενον με καὶ ἀντισπώμενόν μου καὶ χωρίζόμενόν μου κατὰ θεοῦ βούλησιν ἐν χρηστότητι πνεῦμα (*Par. Mag. Par.*, ll. 1121 ff., ed. Wessely in *Denkschriften der Kaiserl. Akad. der Wissenschaften* [Vienna], phil.-hist. Cl., XXXVI (1888) 2, p. 72); and εἰσελθοῖς τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς φρένας εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου καὶ ποιήσῃς μου πάντα τὰ θελήματα τῆς ψυχῆς μου (Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 1891, p. 196, ll. 14 ff.). Cf. *infra*, pp. 41 f. Among secondary authorities cf. Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes* (1888), pp. 100 ff.; Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*<sup>3</sup> (1910), pp. 116 ff.; Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (1910), pp. 43 ff.; Volz, *Der Geist Gottes* (1910), pp. 198 ff.; Deissmann, *Paulus* (1911), pp. 87 ff.; and Case, *The Evolution of Early Christianity* (1914), pp. 343 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. 5, 17. The passages quoted by Schoettgen (*Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, 1733-1742, i, pp. 328 and 704 f.) and Wetstein (*Novum Testamentum*, 1751-1752, ii, p. 191) do not illustrate the mystical side of Paul's thought. Cf. also Gal. 6, 15.

the mind of Christ.<sup>1</sup> Therefore he ought not to be conformed to this age, which the Apostle looks upon as evil and under the control of Satan, but rather to be transformed inwardly by the renovating action of the Holy Spirit upon his mind (νοῦς).<sup>2</sup> Also the brethren who have died are still in Christ, for they do not cease to be Christians at death, and to be a Christian is to be in Christ.<sup>3</sup> Christ conceived as Spirit is the environment of the believer's life, the atmosphere or element in which he lives, but he is quite distinct from Christ. The fundamental ideas are control by the divine Spirit and divinization ('pneumatization') — two categories which Paul allows to remain unadjusted to each other. To become 'pneumatic' is to become divine, just as Christ is divine; but it is not to become identified with Christ or to lose one's own identity in him.<sup>4</sup> Nor

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 2, 16. Νοῦς Χριστοῦ = πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, which is essentially equivalent to νοῦς or πνεῦμα θεοῦ. Cf. also Rom. 8, 9 f., according to which πνεῦμα θεοῦ = πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ = Χριστός. Cf. J. Weiss in Meyer's *Kommentar*<sup>6</sup> (1910), p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rom. 12, 2; 2 Cor. 3, 18; 4, 16; Eph. 4, 23; Col. 3, 10; Tit. 3, 5. These passages imply a change in nature as well as moral renewal under the influence of the Spirit. Paul thinks of this as an emancipation; for, as he says of himself in the Epistle to the Romans, before his conversion sin (ἁμαρτία), which dwelt in his flesh, held sway over him (cf. Rom. 7, 7 ff.) and he was its slave (cf. Rom. 6, 17, 20). Holtzmann (*Neutestamentliche Theologie*,<sup>2</sup> ii, p. 43) rightly says "dass Paulus die Sünde in der Weise des antiken Realismus personifiziert, als handelndes Subjekt fasst, also eine prinzipielle Sündhaftigkeit kennt." Some scholars, however, think that the Apostle regards sin as a demon (cf. Pfeiderer, *Das Urchristentum*,<sup>2</sup> 1902, i, p. 197; Dibelius, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus*, 1909, pp. 122 f.; and Carré, *Paul's Doctrine of Redemption*, 1914, pp. 10 ff., 21, and 27 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 1 Thess. 4, 16. The phrase οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ is different from οἱ κοιμῶντες ἐν Χριστῷ (1 Cor. 15, 18), for it denotes the state of the dead between death and the *parousia*. The fact that believers are in Christ is the pledge or guarantee that they will be raised up, even as Christ was raised from the dead (cf. v. 14). Cf. *infra*, pp. 60 ff.

<sup>4</sup> On the other hand in the mystery religions the worshipper's ideal was to become identified with the divinity of the cult (cf. *infra*, p. 73). Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* iii, 19, 1) holds that the Word expressly condemns those "who deprive man of the ascent into God (τῆς εἰς θεὸν ἀνάβου)" which was made possible for him by the incarnation of the Logos; and he adds that "the Word became man, in order that man, having received (χωρήσας) the Word, . . . might become the son of God." So, too, Athanasius (*De Incarn.* 54, 3) declares that "he [i. e. the Logos] was made man (ἐνθρόνισεν), that we might be made God (θεοποιηθῶμεν)." For other references to this idea in Chris-

does divinization militate against the ethical significance ascribed to the operation of the Spirit. The *πνευματικός* differs from the *σαρκικός* in that he is under divine control and is himself divine in nature. It can also be said that Christ, or the Spirit, or even God dwells in the Christian<sup>1</sup> — three divine powers which are in this respect alike in operation; and we must not overlook the fact that Paul, like the modern pragmatist, is more interested in the practical working of the divine than in its abstract nature. He had been convinced by his own religious experience that Christ was a divine spirit within him, and he can even say that he no longer lives, but that Christ lives in him.<sup>2</sup> His earnest desire for his converts is that Christ should be formed in them,<sup>3</sup> and he tells the Christians in Rome that "If anyone has not the Spirit of Christ, this one is not his."<sup>4</sup> That a person could be in, or have, or be possessed by a spirit was a common belief among both Jews and Gentiles,<sup>5</sup> and this idea

tian sources cf. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*<sup>6</sup> (1894-1897), ii, p. 44, n. 2. Case (*The Evolution of Early Christianity*, p. 343) says: "Paul in speaking of the believer's union with Christ says the believer is 'in Christ', or 'in the Lord.' For Paul such terms meant the fusion of the divine with the human in realistic fashion." "Fusion," however, does not correctly represent the Apostle's idea of the believer's relation to Christ.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rom. 8, 10 (Christ); Rom. 8, 9, 11; 1 Cor. 3, 16; 6, 19 (the Spirit); 1 Cor. 14, 25; 2 Cor. 6, 16 (God). Cf. also Jn. 6, 56; 15, 4 ff.; and 1 Jn. *passim*. Paul uses *οικεῖν*, *ἐνοικεῖν*, and *κατοικεῖν*, as well as the substantive *οἶκος* (1 Cor. 3, 16 f.; 6, 19; 2 Cor. 6, 16), to express this mystical relation. Cf. *infra*, p. 44, n. 5. The author of the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle of John employs the verb *μένειν*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gal. 1, 15 f.; 2, 20; 2 Cor. 13, 3. The phrase *ἐν ἐμοί* in each of these passages means in or within me.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gal. 4, 19. By using the verb *μορφωθῆ*, which occurs only here in the New Testament and not at all in the LXX, the Apostle sets before his readers the idea not merely that Christ should become living and vigorous in them as a new ego (Lip-sius), but that he should actually be formed in them. Lietzmann (in *Handbuch zum N. T.*, iii, i, 1910, p. 250) quotes Justin, *Apol.* 1, 5, 4 *τοῦ λόγου μορφωθέντος καὶ ἀνθρώπου γενομένου*. Cf. also the following passage from a magical papyrus of the fourth or fifth century (Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, i, 1893, p. 116, Pap. cxxii, ll. 2 f.): [ἐλθέ μοι, κύριε Ἐρμῆ, ὡς τὰ βρέφη εἰς τὰ (sic) κοιλίας τῶν γυναικῶν].

<sup>4</sup> Rom. 8, 9. To be Christ's, as the phrase *Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν* in v. 10 shows, implies mystical fellowship with him. Cf. also 1 Cor. 3, 23; 15, 23; 2 Cor. 10, 7; Gal. 3, 29; 5, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Mk. 1, 23 *ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ* = Lk. 4, 33 *ἔχων πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου*; and Mk. 3, 30 *πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον ἔχει* (Mt. omits). For references to pagan sources and secondary authorities cf. *supra*, p. 39, n. 3.



Paul applied to Christ. To him religion is not merely a relation to a divine person, but possession by a divine power and divinization.

Christians then are thought of either as possessing the Holy Spirit or as being possessed by it. These two ways of looking at the **Faith and the Holy Spirit** matter differ in form rather than in substance, for in either case the human is under the control of the divine and is believed to be 'pneumatic.' Such divine control and divinization are the all-important and striking facts of the Pauline Christian's religious experience, and they can be explained by either of the above-mentioned theories. It is through faith, according to the Apostle, that believers receive the Spirit,<sup>1</sup> which is supplied to them by God.<sup>2</sup> Faith, which is itself a gift of God, is the sole channel through which the Holy Spirit can get into a person and possess him; or, in other words, it is the means whereby one enters into that mystical relationship with the divine which constitutes religion.<sup>3</sup>

According to some modern scholars, Paul believed that a person was brought into mystical fellowship with Christ by means of **Faith and baptism** baptism, which in that case must have been thought of as working in some sense *ex opere operato*. In other words, this early Christian institution was of a truly sacramental or magical character, like the ablutions practised in some of the mystery cults.<sup>4</sup> A few passages in the Apostle's letters, when taken by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gal. 3, 14. Τοῦ πνεύματος here is an objective genitive, and the phrase τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ τοῦ πνεύματος means the promised Spirit (Siefert). Cf. also Gal. 3, 2 and 5. On the meaning of ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως cf. *supra*, p. 33, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gal. 3, 5. The present participle ἐπιχορηγῶν indicates that the impartation of the Spirit is not a single act accomplished at the time of conversion or at baptism, but a process which continues as long as one remains in Christ. Cf. also Phil. 1, 19, where the meaning may be that the writer is aided through the supplication and support of the readers, both of which are inspired by the Spirit of Jesus Christ.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ac. 19, 2 Paul said to certain disciples of John the Baptist in Ephesus: εἰ πνεῦμα ἄγιον ἐλάβετε πιστεύσαντες; Here the aorist participle πιστεύσαντες is inceptive and refers to the initial stage of faith.

<sup>4</sup> Among the primitive disciples in Palestine baptism was looked upon merely as a symbolic rite. Cf. McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age* (1906), pp. 59 f. Did the Apostle regard it as a sacrament in the strict sense of the word? Heitmüller (*Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus*, 1903, pp. 14 f.) says: "Die Taufe war für Paulus sakramentale Handlung,

themselves, seem to warrant the conclusion that the writer regarded baptism as the means through which one entered into fellowship with Christ.<sup>1</sup> Thus Paul tells the Christians of Galatia that as many of them as were baptized into Christ had put on Christ, just as one puts on a garment.<sup>2</sup> But on the other hand the Apostle uses the aorist of the verb πιστεῦειν six times absolutely and once with εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν in the sense of becoming a Christian, as if faith were the paramount factor at the beginning of the Christian life;<sup>3</sup> and this fact, as well as the passages referred to above, must be kept in mind. The truth is that faith and baptism go together, as is clear from the following passage in the letter to the Galatians: "For ye are all sons of God through faith in the sphere of Christ Jesus; for as many of you as were baptized into Christ, put on Christ."<sup>4</sup>

eine Handlung die nicht ex opere operantis, sondern ex opere operato (im eigentlich katholischen Sinne) wirkt." Cf. also Lake, *The Stewardship of Faith* (1915), p. 96: "The main points of difference between Gentile and primitive Christianity are concerned with the development that made the Christ the centre of the worship of the community and thus necessitated the growth of a high Christology and the transmutation of the rite of Baptism and the Last Supper into sacraments with the same soteriological importance as attached to the heathen mysteries." The present writer believes that baptism has a sacramental character in Paul; but it should be noted that the Christian rite is always connected with faith.

<sup>1</sup> Deissmann (*Paulus*, p. 89) admits this, but he continues: "Die Taufe ist nicht die Herstellung, sondern die Versiegelung der Christusgemeinschaft."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gal. 3, 27. The phrase εἰς Χριστὸν βαπτισθῆναι does not mean to be baptized in reference to Christ (Siefert), but into Christ, i. e. into mystical fellowship with him (Lietzmann). The latter interpretation accords perfectly with the Pauline view of the Christian life; for if the believer is locally ἐν Χριστῷ, he can be baptized into Christ or put on Christ as a garment (cf. Deissmann, *Die neutestamentliche Formel "in Christo Jesu,"* pp. 95 ff.). The passages cited by Schoettgen (*op. cit.*, i, pp. 571 f.) and Wetstein (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 86) illustrate the language but not the thought of the Apostle. Cf. also Rom. 6, 3 f. and Col. 2, 12 f. According to 1 Cor. 12, 13 the element in which the baptism of Christians takes place is the divine Spirit. They are thought of as being encompassed or surrounded by the Spirit, as it were by water; and in baptism, with which faith is inseparably connected in Paul, they all receive the Spirit, as it were a draught of water (πνεῦμα ἐπορλισθῆναι). Cf. also Mt. 3, 11 = Mk. 1, 8 (*om. ἐν B*) = Lk. 3, 16; Jn. 1, 33; Ac. 1, 5; 11, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rom. 13, 11; 1 Cor. 3, 5; 15, 2, 11; Eph. 1, 13; 2 Thess. 1, 10; Gal. 2, 16 (εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν; εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν B).

<sup>4</sup> Gal. 3, 26 f. Lipsius (*Handcommentar zum N. T.*, 1891, ii, 2, p. 40) says: "Wenn nach v. 26 der Glaube, nach v. 27 die Taufe in die Gemeinschaft Christi versetzt, so zeigt schon das γάρ v. 27, dass beide Male ein und derselbe mystische Vorgang gemeint ist, dessen subjective Seite der Glaube, dessen objective Seite die Taufe ist."

The two together constitute a single act, of which faith is the subjective and baptism the objective side.<sup>1</sup> Paul believed it was his mission to preach the gospel and produce faith, and so he ordinarily left to others the work of baptizing the converts;<sup>2</sup> but we must not suppose on this account that he regarded the latter lightly or with indifference.<sup>3</sup> Faith is the means by which one receives the Spirit and enters into mystical fellowship with the 'pneumatic' Christ; and, as we shall see later, it is itself a mystical state. Baptism, being the objective aspect of the process by which the mystical relationship is established, differs from a mere rite or symbol in that it is endowed with a certain mystical character.<sup>4</sup>

We must not, however, suppose that faith is confined to the beginning of the Christian life — that its work is over when the relationship between the believer and Christ has once been established. Faith is the means or channel through which Christ abides in the hearts of Christians;<sup>5</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> So also Lipsius in *op. cit.*, p. 27; and Hausleiter in *Greifswalder Studien*, 1895, pp. 163 and 168. Lake (*The Stewardship of Faith*, p. 100, n. 1) says: "Faith . . . was regarded as a necessary condition of obtaining righteousness, but baptism was the means." Cf. also Heitmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 1, 14 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Case (*The Evolution of Early Christianity*, p. 348) says: "Paul is glad that he had himself not baptized many of the Corinthians, just because baptism was so very significant. To have been baptized into the name of an individual made one belong to that individual, hence had Paul baptized any large number of the Corinthians they might the more plausibly have claimed to be 'of Paul' and so might really have had some justification for forming a distinctly Pauline party. But since all had been baptized in the name of Christ, there was no ground for schism."

<sup>4</sup> Baptism, which is associated with the Holy Spirit, is regenerative in Jn. 3, 5 and Tit. 3, 5. Wendt (*Das Johannesevangelium*, 1900, pp. 112 f.) thinks that the words *ἕως καὶ* in the former of these passages are probably an addition by the redactor of the source; whereas Lake (*The Influence of Textual Criticism on the Exegesis of the New Testament*, 1904, pp. 13 ff.) and Wellhausen (*Das Evangelium Johannis*, 1908, pp. 17 f.) would excise them from the text. According to 1 Pet. 3, 21 Christians are saved by baptism, which is looked upon as an antitype of the deliverance of Noah and his family in the ark. Cf. also [Mk.] 16, 16.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eph. 3, 17. To denote the indwelling of the divine (God, Christ, or the Spirit) in believers Paul uses *οἰκεῖν* (Rom. 8, 9, 11; 1 Cor. 3, 16), *ἐνοικεῖν* (Rom. 8, 11; 2 Cor. 6, 16; cf. also 2 Tim. 1, 14), and *κατοικεῖν* (Eph. 3, 17) without any appreciable difference in meaning.

through faith they enjoy the high privilege of being sons of God in the sphere of Christ Jesus,<sup>1</sup> thus realizing in the present age the adoption to which God has in love predestinated them through Jesus Christ, and which is to have its consummation in the age following the *parousia* of the Lord.<sup>2</sup> The mystical relationship with Christ, as we have seen, is inaugurated through faith, and faith is necessary for its continuance. In other words, the Christian's faith is permanent. Indeed, according to the Apostle, all that really counts in the sphere of Christ Jesus is faith working through love as its outward and visible expression.<sup>3</sup>

Faith is also the mystical state in which Christians live; and it is necessary for them to continue in it, if they are to be presented **Faith a mystical state** holy and blameless and unreprouvable before God.<sup>4</sup> Hence Paul exhorts the Corinthians to stand firm and steadfast in faith;<sup>5</sup> and again in that sharp and bitter letter to the same church, which forms part of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, he charges them to try themselves to see if they really are in faith (*ἐν τῇ πίστει*), because their treatment of him makes it seem as if they were no longer Christians.<sup>6</sup> The writer might have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gal. 3, 26. The context (vv. 26-29) shows that the phrase *ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* is to be taken with *υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστέ* (Lightfoot, Lipsius, Zahn), not with *διὰ τῆς πίστεως* (Siefert). It is put at the end of the sentence because the writer is about to enlarge upon this thought in the verse immediately following.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rom. 8, 23 and Eph. 1, 5. *ἡδοξία* (not in the LXX) in the New Testament is confined to Paul, who uses it five times as follows: in Rom. 8, 15; Gal. 4, 5; and Eph. 1, 5 of the present sonship of believers; in Rom. 8, 23 of the consummation of the Christian's sonship in the age to come, viz. the redemption of his body (cf. *infra*, p. 61); and in Rom. 9, 4 of the Israelites' peculiar relation to God. In Eph. 1, 4 *ἐν ἀγάπῃ* should be connected with *προπολέας* (Tisch., Weiss, v. Sod.) rather than with the preceding infinitive clause (W. H.). Cf. Abbott on Eph. and Col. in *The Internat. Crit. Com.* (1909), p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gal. 5, 6. Love is the work of faith and the fulfilment of the law (cf. *infra*, pp. 52 f.).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Col. 1, 22 f. This passage, like Eph. 1, 4, refers to the present approbation of God (Lightfoot, Haupt) rather than to the future judgment of Christ (Meyer, Peake). *τῇ πίστει* in v. 23, as in 1 Cor. 16, 13 and 2 Cor. 13, 5, cannot have the objective sense of 'the faith' (cf. *supra*, p. 35, n. 1). Cf. also 1 Tim. 2, 15 and Ac. 14, 22.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 16, 13.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. 13, 5.

expressed substantially the same idea by the familiar phrase "in Christ." Hence "to be in faith" (*ἐν τῇ πίστει εἶναι*) is practically equivalent to the more common expression "to be in Christ" (*ἐν Χριστῷ εἶναι*), and it means to be in a state of mystical fellowship with him. Paul not infrequently speaks of Christians simply as "the believers" (*οἱ πιστεύοντες* or *οἱ πιστοί*).<sup>1</sup>

In Gal. 2, 20 *ἐν πίστει*, coming immediately after *ἐν σαρκί*, means in faith, i. e. in the mystical state in which the Apostle lives. The words *τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ* (KAC etc., Tisch., W. H., v. Sod.) are doubtful; and the writer is inclined to think that the more difficult reading *τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ* (BD\* etc.), which is adopted by Lachmann, Weiss, and Zahn, is right. With this reading cf. 1 Thess. 3, 11 and 2 Thess. 2, 16. *Χριστοῦ* or its equivalent after *πίστις* (Rom. 3, 22, 26; Gal. 2, 16, 20; 3, 22; Eph. 3, 12; Phil. 3, 9) is usually — and rightly in the opinion of the present writer — explained as an objective genitive (cf. Blass-Debrunner, *Grammatik*, p. 100). Deissmann, however, dissents from this view and suggests the term *genetivus mysticus* (cf. *Paulus*, p. 94), which is certainly an unnecessary grammatical category. The objective genitive, which is very common with substantives denoting a state of mind, is sometimes used instead of a prepositional expression both in classical authors and in the New Testament. Thus *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* in Col. 2, 11 is equivalent to the somewhat awkward phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ ἐν Χριστῷ*, as the preceding clause *ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε* shows. Cf. Haussleiter in *Greifswalder Studien* (1895), p. 175. In like manner *πίστις Χριστοῦ* is equivalent to *πίστις ἐν Χριστῷ* or its equivalent (Eph. 1, 15; Col. 1, 4), i. e. faith experienced in fellowship with the 'pneumatic' Christ. Cf. Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 94. Haussleiter, however, interprets *πίστις Χριστοῦ* as "der von Christus gewirkte, in ihm ruhende Glaube" (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 178). It is often impossible to draw a real distinction between *ἐς* and *ἐν* in the New Testament (cf. J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*\*, i, 1908, p. 63), and the phrase *πίστις ἐς Χριστόν* (Col. 2, 5; cf. Phm. 5 ACD\*) is apparently equivalent to the above-mentioned *πίστις ἐν Χριστῷ*. Therefore the three Pauline expressions, *πίστις Χριστοῦ*, *πίστις ἐν Χριστῷ*, and *πίστις ἐς Χριστόν*, are substantially identical in meaning. So, too, *τὸ ἐς αὐτόν* (i. e. *Χριστόν*) *πιστεύειν* in Phil. 1, 29, like *ὁ πιστεύων ἐς αὐτόν* or *ἐμέ* in John (Jn. 3, 16, 18; 6, 35; 11, 25, 26; etc.), denotes the state in which the Christian lives; and the aorist *ἐπιστεύσαμεν* with *ἐς Χριστόν* 'Ἰησοῦν (*ἐς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν* B) in Gal. 2, 16 expresses entrance into that state. For *πίστις ἐς* with reference to Christ cf. Ac. 20, 21; 24, 24; 26, 18. *Πιστεύειν ἐς* is used of Christ in Mt. 18, 6 (cf. *supra*, p. 22, a); Ac. 10, 43; 14, 23.

How did a mystical connotation get attached to the idea of faith, which in primitive Christian circles was wholly devoid of anything

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 37.

of the sort? In the writings of Philo of Alexandria faith or trust in God is tinged with mysticism, which in all probability was derived from the religious teaching of the Stoics;<sup>1</sup> for Stoicism was one of the principal elements out of which the syncretistic philosophy of Philo was compounded. But the resemblance between the Alexandrian thinker and Paul in this matter is only superficial; for the mysticism connected with the latter's idea of faith did not come from Stoicism in particular, nor was it borrowed from Philo, with whose thought the Apostle, so far as we know, was not acquainted. The religious atmosphere of the Graeco-Roman world was laden with mysticism; and Paul of Tarsus was so thoroughly *en rapport* with his environment that this element of it found its way into his conception of Christianity and his idea of faith, and to each of them it gave a fundamentally mystical character.

We now come to the question concerning the nature of faith in Paul. Is it emotional, or intellectual, or ethical? Or does it involve all of these forms of psychical life? Enough has already been said about the divine origin and permanent character of faith, as well as its fundamental importance in the Pauline conception of Christianity, to show that it is not merely emotional nor purely intellectual. Both the feelings and the intellect have their parts to play in the preliminary process of conversion; but even in the primary act of accepting the gospel message the will is an important factor, as we learn from the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians.<sup>2</sup> Faith completely revolutionizes the life of the believer and makes him literally a "new creature" in Christ.<sup>3</sup> The work of faith, as we shall see presently,<sup>4</sup> is love, which is the fulfilment of the law; and therefore ultimately it is faith that makes it possible for the Christian to achieve the ethical ideal. In the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra*, pp. 80 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2 Thess. 2, 12. It is important to note the antithesis here between ἀληθεία and ἀδικία on the one hand, and on the other the parallelism between πιστεύοντες and εὐδοκῶντες (cf. Frame on Thess., p. 272).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. 5, 17 and Gal. 6, 15. Cf. *supra*, pp. 39 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *infra*, pp. 52 f.

Roman church the "strong" brethren ate all things without being troubled by conscientious scruples, whereas the "weak" abstained from meat and ate only vegetables. The Apostle explains and justifies this difference of practice on the ground of faith, which raises the "strong" brother above such morally indifferent matters and gives him independence and freedom. Such a Christian, says he, "has faith to eat all things";<sup>1</sup> and he even goes so far as to say that every act which does not proceed from faith is sin.<sup>2</sup> On the one hand faith, provided it is mature and strong, frees the believer from the obligation of conforming to meaningless rules; while on the other it gives him confidence in ordering his conduct in a free and independent manner. Religion and moral excellence in Paul both rest upon faith, and hence they stand in the closest and most intimate relation to each other.

Although faith is of divine origin and a gift of God,<sup>3</sup> nevertheless it is not at first perfect or complete. There is room for it to grow in **The growth of** strength and power,<sup>4</sup> and apparently this growth may **faith** be indefinite. For after the Corinthians had been living the Christian life for some time, Paul expresses the hope that with the growth of their faith they may come to entertain a more just opinion of him, so that he may extend his missionary work to other

<sup>1</sup> Rom. 14, 2. Πιστεύει is used here in a double sense: (1) has confidence to eat all things (cf. Dem. *In Ones.* 865 *ἴν. προέσθαι δὲ τὴν προῖκα οὐκ ἐπιστεύσειν*); and (2) has faith to eat all things, i. e. the "strong" brother is so mature and strong in faith that he can conscientiously eat both meat and vegetables. His confidence in the matter is based upon faith, which is thus the ultimate ground of his conduct.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rom. 14, 23. As the fulfilment of the law, viz. love, springs from faith (cf. *infra*, p. 53), so conversely whatever does not proceed from faith is sin.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Such a growth seems to be indicated by the difficult phrase ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν in Rom. 1, 17, unless it is to be understood simply as a rhetorical expression (Lietzmann). In this case the meaning will be that "in the revelation of God's righteousness for man's salvation everything is of faith from first to last" (Denney in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*,<sup>4</sup> ii, p. 591). The present writer, however, hesitates to accept this interpretation, and believes that ἐκ πίστεως refers to the acceptance of the gospel under the influence of the Spirit and εἰς πίστιν to the mature faith of the Christian. Paul uses the word πίστις in both of these senses (cf. Phil. 1, 27; 2 Thess. 2, 13; and *supra*, pp. 33 f.).

fields.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand concerning the Thessalonians he feels that he ought to thank God continually for the exceedingly great growth of his converts' faith;<sup>2</sup> for the Spirit's control over their lives has become greater, and in fellowship with Christ they have acquired a fuller and deeper knowledge of God. The "strong" brethren in the Roman community were also Christians of mature and robust faith.<sup>3</sup> Faith might grow in depth and power, as it clearly had in the case of the Thessalonians and some of the believers in Rome. Such growth indeed was the normal result of living in Christ, and was to be expected in the case of all Christians.

Faith, which is meted out by God to each individual member of the church in such a measure as he wills, is a social force of great power and value. Believers possess it in varying degrees, but all have it in some measure, inasmuch as all are in Christ and have the Holy Spirit; and as there is one body, one Spirit, and one Lord, so there is also one faith, by which all Christians are bound together in fellowship.<sup>4</sup> Whatever differences in race, social status, or sex existed among them and kept them apart before their conversion are forever abolished by their fellowship in Christ through faith, and in him they are all one;<sup>5</sup> and by virtue of their common faith they are brethren in a sense far transcending that of natural or racial kinship. Hence Paul exhorts the Galatians to do good to all, but especially to those who are fellow

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. 10, 15 f. The phrase *αὐξανόμενης τῆς πίστεως* denotes an intensive growth of faith in strength and power. Cf. 1 Cor. 3, 1 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2 Thess. 1, 3. Faith (*ἡ πίστις*) is the root of the Thessalonians' religious and ethical life, and *ὑπεραυξάνει* (found only here in the New Testament and nowhere in the LXX) "indicates . . . an appreciative recognition of progress in things essential, the fulfilment in part of the prayer in 1 Thess. 3, 12" (Frame, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rom. 14, 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eph. 4, 4 f. *Πίστις* in v. 5 does not mean *fides quae creditur* (Belser) — a sense which the word never has in the genuine letters of Paul (cf. *supra*, p. 35, n. 1). On the relation of faith and baptism cf. *supra*, pp. 42 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gal. 3, 28. The idea that all previous distinctions among believers have been done away and that all are one in Christ is a favorite theme with the Apostle. Cf. Rom. 10, 12; 1 Cor. 12, 13; Eph. 2, 14; Col. 3, 11. Cf. also the ideal expressed in Jn. 17, 11, 21 ff.



members of the household of faith.<sup>1</sup> Ideally at least Christians are bound together by love, which is the principal product of faith in the sphere of practical life and the "bond of perfection" among them.<sup>2</sup> In other words, the saints are all in Christ through faith, or in faith, and it unites them in fellowship with one another.<sup>3</sup> The church thus constituted is the new "Israel of God,"<sup>4</sup> which has inherited the promises of Jahveh to the chosen people; and it is also the "body of Christ," who is its divinely appointed head and with whom it is in vital union.<sup>5</sup> Through faith believers are incor-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gal. 6, 10. *Τῆς πίστεως* here is not "nearly equivalent to τοῦ εὐαγγελίου" (Lightfoot), as if it were something objective; and still less can it mean 'the faith' (Rendall). It is rather the basic principle of the Christian life, so that τοὺς οἰκελους τῆς πίστεως is practically synonymous with τοὺς πιστεύοντας or τοὺς πιστοὺς. Cf. *supra*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Col. 3, 14 *σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος* (gen. of appos.). According to v. 15 the brethren are called in one body, and it seems better to understand love as the bond among believers (Haupt, Peake) than as that which unites the virtues mentioned in vv. 12 f. (Lightfoot, Abbott, *et al.*). The latter spring from faith or the indwelling of the Spirit (cf. *infra*, p. 54). "When love binds all Christians together, the ideal of Christian perfection is attained" (Peake in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, iii, p. 541). Instead of *τελειότητος* D\* and a few other authorities read *ἐνότητος*. For the injunction to love one another cf. Jn. 13, 34; 15, 12, 17; 1 Jn. 3, 11, 23; 4, 21; 2 Jn. 5; 1 Pet. 2, 17.

<sup>3</sup> After mentioning Philemon's love and faith the Apostle adds the prayer that his friend's fellowship in faith may become effectual (cf. Phm. 5 f.). In v. 6 the difficult expression *ἡ κοινωνία τῆς πίστεως* (obj. gen.; cf. 1 Cor. 1, 9) seems to mean fellowship or participation in faith as the basic principle of the Christian life (v. Soden, Ewald, Dibelius) rather than the beneficence springing from faith (Lightfoot, Haupt) or the communication of faith (Vincent). Cf. Gal. 6, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gal. 6, 16. The phrase τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ refers to Christians without reference to race or nationality (Calvin, Lightfoot, Lipsius, Sieffert, *et al.*). The Galatian churches were composed chiefly of Gentiles, but by virtue of being in Christ they are the seed of Abraham and the children of the free woman, i. e. of Sarah (Gal. 3, 29 and 4, 31). Cf. also Phil. 3, 3 and Col. 2, 11.

<sup>5</sup> The figure of the body (*σῶμα*) is used of the Christian community by Paul in two ways: (1) to express the unity and mutual coöperation of its members (Rom. 12, 4 ff.; 1 Cor. 12, 12 ff.); and (2) to denote its organic relation to Christ (Eph. 1, 22; Col. 1, 18). It is expressly called his body in 1 Cor. 12, 27, Eph. 1, 23, and 4, 12. The conception of a universal church composed of various communities organically united in Christ as the head seems to have originated with the Apostle Paul; and even in early times "the church was thought of not as a mere voluntary association of disciples of Christ, but as a divine institution established and sustained by God, an institution

porated into this living organism, and only by continuing in it can one remain a member of the body. Such faith made of the Christians a distinct social group, which was conscious of its separateness from the world and of its own solidarity,<sup>1</sup> and in which the obligations of brotherhood were vitalized and reinforced by a common principle of religion.<sup>2</sup>

The love of God or Christ for men is a fundamental and controlling idea in Paul,<sup>3</sup> and to love (*ἀγάπη*) he gives the first place among Christian virtues. It is a fruit of the indwelling Spirit,<sup>4</sup> and consequently it cannot be had without faith; and it is also the greatest of the Christian graces, for it excels the most striking of the charismatic gifts and is superior even to faith and hope. Moreover, the Apostle believes that love will remain over unchanged into the age that is to be inaugurated at the *parousia* of Christ.<sup>5</sup> Prophecy, speaking with tongues, and knowledge are

composed of men and women called and set apart by God to be his own elect people" (McGiffert, *The Apostles' Creed*, 1902, p. 153). On the meaning of the term *ἐκκλησία* see Kattenbusch, *Das apostolische Symbol* (1894-1900), ii, pp. 691 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 10, 32. For Paul mankind is divided in respect of religion into three classes—Jews, Greeks, and "the church of God." The last of these consists of both Jews and Greeks, but it is religiously distinct from each of the other groups. For this threefold division cf. also Aristides, *Apol.* 2 in Greek (according to the Syriac there are four classes—"Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians") and Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6, 5, 41.

<sup>2</sup> For an expression of the sense of brotherhood among the primitive disciples of Jerusalem cf. Ac. 2, 44 f. and 4, 32 ff. At this time the church was thought of as a great family. Cf. McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age* (1906), p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> God (Rom. 5, 5; 8, 39; 2 Cor. 13, 13; 2 Thess. 3, 5); Christ (Rom. 8, 35 ACD, τοῦ θεοῦ NB; Eph. 3, 19).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Rom. 15, 30 and Gal. 5, 22. In the former of these passages the phrase *διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ πνεύματος* refers to the love wrought in believers by the divine Spirit. In Gal. 5, 22 the virtues comprised under the term *ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος* are contrasted with the vices called *τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκὸς* in vv. 19-21, just as the Spirit is contrasted with the flesh in vv. 16 f. The *σὰρξ*, which is elsewhere endowed with such personal attributes as *ἐπιθυμία* (Gal. 5, 16 f.) or *ἐπιθυμίαι* (Eph. 2, 3), *θελήματα* (Eph. 2, 3), *νοῦς* (Col. 2, 18), and *φρόνημα* (Rom. 8, 6 f.), may be personified here.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 13, 13. The adverb *νυνί*, standing in contrast to *τότε* . . . *τότε* in v. 12, is temporal (Thayer, Harnack, *et al.*) rather than conclusive or logical (Meyer, Robertson-Plummer, *et al.*), and means in this present age; and the verb *μένει*, which is contrasted with *καταργηθήσονται* and *παύσονται* of v. 8, denotes permanence rather

destined to pass away with the present age,<sup>1</sup> but it is inconceivable that love should come to an end or reach its fulfilment at the advent of the Lord. Furthermore, faith works through love, or perhaps is

than abiding worth (Schmiedel). That love should continue unchanged after the *parousia* of Christ is an entirely reasonable expectation. But in writing to the Corinthians Paul contrasts faith with appearance (*εἶδος*), implying that at the advent the former will be superseded by the latter (cf. 2 Cor. 5, 7); and in the Epistle to the Romans he says that "hope which is seen is not hope" (Rom. 8, 24). Hence the meaning of 1 Cor. 13, 13 seems to be that faith and hope will not pass away or come to an end at the Lord's coming, like prophecy, speaking with tongues, or knowledge, but rather that they will then reach their fulfilment. Harnack (*Sitzungsberichte der königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, vii, 1911, pp. 152 f.) says: "Der Übergang von Glaube und Hoffnung zum Vollkommenen ist Erfüllung, der Übergang von der Charismen-Erkenntnis zur vollkommenen Erkenntnis aber ist ein Bruch; denn jene wird abgetan, und die neue tritt an ihre Stelle! In diesem Sinne hat der Apostel, seine Gedanken zusammen-drängend und ein Mittelglied in der Rede auslassend, vom "Bleiben" des Glaubens, der Hoffnung und der Liebe gesprochen, um dann den Schluss zu finden, auf den es ihm ankam, dass die Liebe auch unter ihnen die grösste sei. Sie ist die grösste — auch das muss suppliert werden —, weil sie das Vollkommene und Bleibende nicht nur durch Antizipation ist, wie Glaube und Hoffnung, sondern unverändert in die Ewigkeit übergeht: 'Die Liebe hört niemals auf.'" He quotes the following passage from Clement of Alexandria, *Quis Div. Salv.* 38, 2 f.: "Μένει δὲ τὰ τρία ταῦτα, πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη· μέζων δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀγάπη." καὶ δικαίως· πίστις μὲν γὰρ ἀπέρχεται, ὅταν αὐτοψία πεισθῶμεν ἰδόντες θεόν, καὶ ἐλπίς ἀφανίζεται τῶν ἐλπισθέντων ἀποδοθέντων, ἀγάπη δὲ εἰς πλῆρωμα συνέχεται καὶ μᾶλλον αὐξεται τῶν τελείων παραδοθέντων. It is unnecessary and hazardous to assume with J. Weiss that v. 13 is a quotation from some unknown source (cf. Meyer's *Kommentar*,<sup>9</sup> 1910, p. 320). Faith, hope, and love are elsewhere conjoined in Paul (Col. 1, 4 f.; 1 Thess. 1, 3; 5, 8).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 13, 8. Both prophecy and knowledge in its present state are partial (cf. vv. 9 ff.), and there will be no use for either of them or for speaking with tongues when the perfect (τὸ τέλειον) shall have come. Paul says that we shall then see face to face and know even as we have been known. The directness and immediacy of this knowledge indicate that it is to be of a mystical character, like the *γνώσις* which was so highly prized and so diligently sought after in certain Hellenistic circles (cf. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, pp. 38 ff.). Neither *γνώσις* nor *ἐπιγνώσις* is found in the Gospel or Epistles of John; but the verbs *γινώσκειν*, *θεωρεῖν*, and *ὁρᾶν*, when the object is the divine (God, Christ, or the Spirit), often denote direct or immediate knowledge or vision (cf., e. g., Jn. 6, 46; 8, 38; 10, 15; 12, 45; 14, 7, 9, 17; 17, 3; 1 Jn. 3, 2, 6). In Second Peter, a pseudepigraphon written not long before the middle of the second century, knowledge (*ἐπιγνώσις*) of Christ is the principle of the Christian life (cf. 1, 3, 8; 2, 20). On the meaning of *ἐπιγνώσις* cf. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter* (1907), pp. 171 ff.; and Robinson, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*<sup>2</sup> (1909), pp. 248 ff.

made operative through love,<sup>1</sup> which is regarded as the work of faith *par excellence*;<sup>2</sup> and in the Epistle to the Romans Paul sums up the law on its ethical side in the command to love one's neighbor as oneself, and draws the conclusion that love is the fulfilment of the law.<sup>3</sup> Love indeed is his leading ethical word.<sup>4</sup> Since love springs from faith, the justice and goodness required by the law are attainable by anyone who has faith, which is thus the source of social morality. As it is necessary for Christians to continue steadfast in faith,<sup>5</sup> so also, according to the Epistle to the Ephesians, Paul will have them "rooted and grounded in love,"<sup>6</sup> through which faith works or becomes operative; and love, as we have seen, is the bond of perfection by which believers are bound together.<sup>7</sup> In this respect love is the practical expression of the faith which makes them one in Christ. So paramount indeed is love that the Apostle solemnly exhorts his Thessalonian converts, in view of the approaching *parousia* of the Lord, to be sober, "having put on the breastplate of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gal. 5, 6. The participle *ἐνεργουμένη* is generally understood as middle (Lightfoot, Lipsius, Sieffert, *et al.*). But it may be passive; in which case it means made operative through love, the passive conveying the idea "that the operation is not self-originated" (cf. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 245 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Thess. 1, 3. By "the work of faith" (*τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως*) is meant the activity inspired by faith, i. e. "love in all its manifestations" (Frame); for faith works, or is made operative, through love (cf. Gal. 5, 6). Cf. also 2 Thess. 1, 11, where *πᾶσαν ἐλδοκίαν ἀγαθωσύνης* and *ἔργον πίστεως* are parallel.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rom. 13, 8 ff. It is difficult to determine whether *νόμον* and *νόμου* in vv. 8 and 10 mean the Mosaic law (Calvin, Lipsius, Zahn, Denney) or law in a wider sense (Gifford, Sanday-Headlam, Weiss); but in either case one's obligations to one's fellows are fulfilled by love. Cf. also Gal. 5, 14, where *ὁ πᾶς νόμος* unquestionably refers to the law of Moses.

<sup>4</sup> What the Apostle means by love can be seen in Rom. 12, 3-21; 13, 8-10; and 1 Cor. 13. Cf. also Gal. 5, 14, 22.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Col. 1, 23 (cf. *supra*, p. 45) and 2, 7. In the latter passage *τῇ πίστει* (BD\*; *praem. b* & D\* etc.) is a dative of reference (Abbott, Peake) rather than of instrument (Meyer, Lightfoot).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eph. 3, 18. It is much better to take the phrase *ἐν ἀγάπῃ* with the participles *ἐρριζωμένοι* and *τεθεμελιωμένοι* (Tisch., Weiss, v. Sod.) than with what precedes (W. H.); for, as Haupt observes, some complement is needed to specify that in which the readers are to be "rooted and grounded" (cf. Eph. in Meyer's *Kommentar*,<sup>8</sup> *besw.* 7 1902, p. 114).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Col. 3, 14 (cf. *supra*, p. 50, n. 2).

faith and love";<sup>1</sup> and in his second letter to them, which was probably written only a few weeks after the first, he tells them of his gratitude to God for the growth of their faith and the increase of their love.<sup>2</sup>

The various virtues with which the lives of Christians were adorned, are regarded by Paul as resulting from faith or the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. It will suffice to mention the following: endurance (*ὑπομονή*),<sup>3</sup> peace (*εἰρήνη*), forbearance (*μακροθυμία*), kindness (*χρηστότης*), goodness (*ἀγαθωσύνη*), faithfulness (*πίστις*),<sup>4</sup> gentleness (*πραΰτης*), and self-control (*ἐγκράτεια*). The last seven of these the Apostle calls "the fruit of the Spirit,"<sup>5</sup> i. e. of the divine power which dwells in believers; but they are also due to faith, because it is only through the latter that Christians receive the Spirit.<sup>6</sup>

Hope (*ἐλπίς*) is often mentioned by Paul in his letters, and sometimes in conjunction with faith and love — a fact which leads one to believe that he was wont to group these three together in his presentation of the gospel.<sup>7</sup> The object of the Christian's hope is salvation,<sup>8</sup> or glory in the age to be in-

<sup>1</sup> 1 Thess. 5, 8 *θώρακα πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης* (gen. of appos.). Faith is the source of love and love the work of faith.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2 Thess. 1, 3 (cf. *supra*, p. 49, n. 2). The increase of love in the community is indisputable evidence that the Thessalonians' faith had grown in depth and power. For the collocation of faith and love, which is chiefly (or perhaps wholly) Pauline, cf. the following passages: 1 Cor. 13, 13; Gal. 5, 6; Eph. 1, 15 (N<sup>o</sup>D etc.); Col. 1, 4; 1 Thess. 1, 3; 3, 6; 5, 8; 2 Thess. 1, 3; Phm. 5; 1 Tim. 1, 5, 14; 2, 15; 4, 12; 6, 11; 2 Tim. 1, 13; 2, 22; 3, 10; Tit. 2, 2. In Rev. 2, 19 *τὴν πίστιν* may mean faithfulness (Bousset) rather than faith (Holtzmann, Swete).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 2 Thess. 1, 4. Cf. also Jas. 1, 3. According to 1 Thess. 1, 3, however, endurance springs from the hope of salvation.

<sup>4</sup> For the meaning of *πίστις* in Gal. 5, 22 cf. *supra*, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gal. 5, 22 f. (cf. *supra*, p. 51, n. 4).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 13, 13; Col. 1, 4 f.; 1 Thess. 1, 3; 5, 8. Resch's view that an uncanonical saying of Jesus underlies the Pauline triad of faith, hope, and love seems to the present writer highly improbable; for in the utterances recorded in the synoptic gospels *πίστις* means trust and *ἐλπίς* does not occur. Cf. Resch, *Agrapha*<sup>2</sup> (1906), pp. 153 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. 1 Thess. 5, 8. *Σωτηρίας*, which is conceived eschatologically by Paul, is an objective genitive. With *περικεφαλαίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας* compare *τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου* in Eph. 6, 17. Cf. also Tit. 1, 2; 3, 7; 1 Jn. 3, 3.

augurated at the *parousia*,<sup>1</sup> or even Christ himself.<sup>2</sup> In other words, the believer's "good hope,"<sup>3</sup> which non-believers do not have,<sup>4</sup> is a confident expectation of future well-being or happiness, and it is his by virtue of the fact that Christ is in him.<sup>5</sup> Ultimately, therefore, like everything else connected with the Christian life, hope springs from faith. Its fruition is of course in the future, but it is itself a present possession of believers; and inasmuch as it has salvation as its object and is sure to be realized in the coming age, it is the source of their endurance under trial and persecution.<sup>6</sup> Finally, just as *ἡ πίστις* after the time of Paul came to mean the content or substance of Christian teaching, so *ἐλπίς* is sometimes used by the Apostle in a concrete or objective sense. Thus in the letter to the Galatians he speaks of the "hope of justification," i. e. the hope which is inspired by the believer's sense of being justified or forgiven;<sup>7</sup> and again, in writing to the Colossians, he reminds them of "the hope that is laid up for you in the heavens."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rom. 5, 2 and Col. 1, 27. Cf. *infra*, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Thess. 1, 3. It is simplest and best to take the phrase τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν κτλ. with *ἐλπίδος* only (Schmiedel, Milligan, Frame) rather than with *πίστεως*, *ἀγάπης*, and *ἐλπίδος* (v. Dobschütz, Dibelius), and to understand it as an objective genitive. Cf. also Col. 1, 27 and 1 Tim. 1, 1. For hope directed towards or based upon God cf. the following: 1 Tim. 4, 10 (*ἐπὶ*); 5, 5 (*ἐπὶ*); Ac. 24, 15 (*εἰς* AB; *πρός* NC); 1 Pet. 1, 21 (*εἰς*); 3, 5 (*εἰς* ABC; *ἐπὶ* N etc.).

<sup>3</sup> 2 Thess. 2, 16 *ἐλπίδα ἀγαθὴν*. The Christian's hope is "good" negatively in comparison with the non-Christian's lack of hope (cf. 1 Thess. 4, 13) and positively because it does not put the believer to shame (cf. Rom. 5, 5).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 1 Thess. 4, 13. Cf. also Eph. 2, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Col. 1, 27. The 'pneumatic' Christ dwelling in believers is the guarantee of their future glory.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 1 Thess. 1, 3. *Τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος* means the endurance that springs from the Christian's hope. Cf. 4 Macc. 17, 4 *τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ὑπομονῆς*, where the emphasis is on hope rather than endurance.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gal. 5, 5. The phrase *ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης* (subj. gen.) means that which is hoped for in consequence of justification or forgiveness (Lightfoot, Lipsius, Sieffert), i. e. salvation. Cf. also Tit. 2, 13 and Heb. 6, 18.

<sup>8</sup> Col. 1, 5. Cf. also the commonwealth (*πολιτεῖα*) in heaven (Phil. 3, 20), the inheritance (*κληρονομία*) reserved in the heavens (1 Pet. 1, 4), and the heavenly reward (*μισθός*) or treasure (*θησαυρός*) spoken of by Jesus (Mt. 5, 12 = Lk. 6, 23; Mt. 6, 20 = Lk. 12, 33; Mt. 19, 21 = Mk. 10, 21 = Lk. 18, 22).

Along with hope goes joy (*χαρά*) — no passing exhilaration, but an ardent and buoyant happiness that continues and makes its possessor cheerful amid the hardships and trials of life. Ultimately, like peace, it comes from God;<sup>1</sup> but it springs directly from faith,<sup>2</sup> because its immediate cause is the Christian's sense of justification or forgiveness. Joy is a permanent possession of believers and a characteristic mark of the Christian life, and so it is sometimes attributed to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in Christians;<sup>3</sup> but inasmuch as faith is the means through which they receive the Spirit, joy is also a product of faith.

The Jews as a people were intent on the pursuit of righteousness, and they believed that they could attain their moral ideal by obeying the law which Jahveh had given them for the regulation of their lives.<sup>4</sup> But righteousness, as they understood it, was not equivalent to sinlessness, which was unattainable even by the best of men.<sup>5</sup> It was rather general uprightness of life according to the Mosaic standard, being the opposite of iniquity or wickedness. Since a man was accounted righteous who was conscientious in observing the requirements of the law, Jewish righteousness was based upon works, and sprang from the individual's will to obey. Hence to be righteous was in the highest degree meritorious.

Paul, however, was convinced, partly on the basis of his own experience and partly from observation, that it is absolutely impossible for anyone to become righteous or be justified before God in this way; for sin has its abode in the flesh and cannot always be successfully resisted.<sup>6</sup> It was there-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rom. 15, 13. *Χαράς* and *εὐφροσύνης* here, like *εὐφροσύνη* and *χαρά* in 14, 17, are the joy and peace experienced in justification or forgiveness.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Phil. 1, 25. It is simplest to take *τῆς πίστεως* with *χαρὰν* only and understand it as a subjective genitive (Weiss, Haupt, Kennedy, Dibelius).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gal. 5, 22 (cf. *supra*, p. 51, n. 4) and 1 Thess. 1, 6. *Πνεύματος ἀγίου* here denotes the source of the joy which is the accompaniment of the Thessalonians' persecution. Cf. also Rom. 14, 17 and Ac. 13, 52.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eccles. 7, 20.

<sup>6</sup> For the view of certain scholars that the Apostle regarded sin as a demon cf. *supra*, p. 20, n. 4.

fore necessary that some other method should be provided — one that would really make righteousness and justification possible;<sup>1</sup> and this, according to the Apostle, is just what God, out of his abundant love for men, had done in the new dispensation of faith. For Christ's death, which is conceived as an expiation of sins (a vicarious expiation in the main rather than an expiatory sacrifice), demonstrated once and for all God's righteousness (*δικαιοσύνη*), i. e. that attribute or act of the divine Being whereby he vindicates men;<sup>2</sup> and this exhibition of God's righteousness was made while men were yet sinners.<sup>3</sup> Through faith, by means of which believers enter into and continue in mystical fellowship with Christ, the vindicative righteousness of God is exercised upon them and they are justified or acquitted freely (*δωρεάν*), i. e. by his grace and not by works of the law.<sup>4</sup> Their sins are forgiven, and through the indwelling of the Spirit they are able to bring forth fruits of righteousness.

<sup>1</sup> It is of prime importance to note that *δικαιοσύνη* in Paul means sometimes righteousness or moral excellence and sometimes justification or forgiveness. In Rom. 9, 30 and Phil. 3, 9 (cf. also 2 Cor. 9, 9 f.) "there is a certain play between the two senses" (cf. Ropes in *Jour. of Bib. Lit.*, xxii, 1903, p. 225). In secular Greek the word has the former of these meanings, but both are found in the LXX.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rom. 3, 25 f. We should probably interpret *ἱλαστήριον* here as an atoning sacrifice after the analogy of *σωτήριον*, *τελεστήριον*, *χαριστήριον*, etc. (Meyer, Lipsius, G. F. Moore, Lietzmann). It must be admitted, however, that the context is satisfied either by the more general rendering, 'a means of expiation' (Godet, Weiss), or by taking *ἱλαστήριον* as an adj. acc. masc. in agreement with *ὁ* (Morison, Sanday-Headlam, Denney). The older view that the Apostle has in mind the propitiatory upon the ark of the testimony (the "mercy-seat" of the A. V.), i. e. the Hebrew כפרת (= LXX *ἱλαστήριον*), is represented by Gifford and Kühl among modern scholars. On this difficult and important passage cf. Morison, *A Critical Exposition of the Third Chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (1866), pp. 279 ff.; and G. F. Moore in *Enc. Bib.* (1899-1903), iv, col. 4229 f. On righteousness and the righteousness of God in the Old Testament and in Paul cf. Ropes, *op. cit.*, xxii (1903), pp. 211 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rom. 5, 8. From another point of view Christ's death is an exhibition of God's love towards men.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Rom. 3, 21 f. Here, as apparently in 1, 17, *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* belongs to man as well as to God. The term "vindicative righteousness" is intended to denote God's vindication of the plaintiff whose cause is righteous. It must be sharply distinguished from "vindicative justice" and "vindictive justice," i. e. the justice which avenges or punishes wrong-doing (cf. Ropes, *op. cit.*, p. 218, n. 13). Cf. also Ac. 13, 39 and Tit. 3, 7.



Paul seizes upon the classic Old Testament passage concerning Abraham's faith or trust in Jahveh and the latter's acceptance of it as righteousness,<sup>1</sup> and he uses it as an illustration and confirmation of his doctrine that the believer is justified through faith without works of the law. Even circumcision, the distinctive mark of the Jew, the Apostle declares to be the seal of the righteousness or justification (the two ideas are here confused) which the patriarch obtained by faith.<sup>2</sup> The Christian has faith in a much deeper sense than Abraham had it, and to it alone are due both his righteousness or moral excellence and his sense of being forgiven or justified by God. The idea that righteousness and justification are acquired by faith is expressed in several different ways, but the difference is, one of form rather than substance. Faith is oftenest spoken of as the source from which they proceed,<sup>3</sup> but sometimes it is thought of as the channel through which they come.<sup>4</sup> Once it appears as the base on which "the righteousness that is from God" rests,<sup>5</sup> while in another place it is simply the means by which one is justified.<sup>6</sup>

As the Christian and workable principle, faith is frequently contrasted with the Jewish principle of works prescribed by the Mosaic law,<sup>7</sup> which had proved utterly unsatisfactory to Paul as a means of attaining either righteousness or the sense of justification. It must be admitted that whatever measure of righteousness or justification was attainable on the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. 15, 6 (cf. *supra*, pp. 2 f.). For Paul's use of this passage cf. Rom. 4, 1 ff. and Gal. 3, 1 ff. The author of James, on the other hand, holds that Abraham's faith coöperated with (συνήργει  $\aleph^{\circ}$  BC etc.; συνεργεῖ  $\aleph^{\circ}$  A) his works and was made perfect by them because he brought his son Isaac to the altar to sacrifice him (cf. also 1 Macc. 2, 52). Hence the writer concludes that "by works a man is justified and not by faith only," so that faith without works is idle (ἀργή) or dead (νεκρά). Cf. Jas. 2, 20 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rom. 4, 11. According to Gen. 17, 11 circumcision is the sign of the covenant (אֶת בְּרִית) made between God and Abraham, and it is so understood in Jewish writings (cf. Schoettgen, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 507 f.; and Wetstein, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 42 f.).

<sup>3</sup> ἐκ πίστεως (e. g. Rom. 5, 1; 9, 30; Gal. 2, 16; 3, 24).

<sup>4</sup> διὰ πίστεως (Rom. 3, 22; Gal. 2, 16).

<sup>5</sup> ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει (Phil. 3, 9 [ἐν πίστει D\*E\*]).

<sup>6</sup> πίστει (Rom. 3, 28 [διὰ πίστεως FG]).

<sup>7</sup> Cf., e. g., Rom. 3, 28; 9, 31 f.; Gal. 2, 16.

basis of works of the law rested ultimately upon the will of the individual to do good, and that consequently one might with some reason be proud or even boastful. Faith, on the other hand, is a divine gift, and one who is justified by it alone has no right to feel proud and no ground for boasting. The latter is excluded by what the Apostle calls the "law of faith."<sup>1</sup>

The radical and irreconcilable opposition of the law and faith impressed Paul deeply, for he had tried them both and knew by experience the working of each. The Mosaic law, in spite of the fact that it had been given by God, was to the Apostle's mind a dismal failure; for in his opinion it had not only proved itself incapable of producing righteousness among his people, but he had himself been unable to gain a sense of forgiveness or justification, though he had conscientiously tried to live according to its requirements. Faith, on the other hand, he regarded as the divinely given source of love, which is the fulfilment of the law, and at the same time as the means through which the believer is justified. Hence, with his providential view of history, it was natural for Paul to look upon the law and faith as the principles of two successive dispensations of God. Thus he writes to his Galatian converts, who were being hard pressed by certain Judaizing propagandists: "But before faith came we were kept in ward under the law, shut up unto the faith which was appointed to be revealed. Therefore the law has become our pedagogue unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith; but now that faith is come, we are no longer under a pedagogue."<sup>2</sup> The earlier and inferior régime of the law gave way in due time to the higher and final dispensation of faith, for which it was in truth only a preparation.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rom. 3, 27. *Nóμον* is here used in the sense of order or régime.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. 3, 23 ff. For the Apostle human history is divided into three great epochs, each having its own character: (1) from Adam to Moses; (2) from Moses to Christ; (3) the age of Christ (cf. Rom. 5, 13 f.). The cardinal principles of (2) and (3) are respectively the law and faith, both of which are given by God. *τὴν πίστιν* in Gal. 3, 23 means the new dispensation of faith (cf. *supra*, p. 35, n. 1). Cf. also 1 Tim. 1, 4 *οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει*.

Salvation, which is a matter of paramount interest to Paul, is conceived in an eschatological way. On the negative side it means deliverance from the personal evil powers which rule the world, from death, from the curse of the law, and from the wrath of God; while positively it is the future life in fellowship with Christ. The gospel is declared to be "a power of God unto salvation to everyone who believes,"<sup>1</sup> for God has been pleased to use preaching for the purpose of saving those whom he has chosen from the beginning unto salvation<sup>2</sup> and predestinated to be "conformed to the image of his Son";<sup>3</sup> and it is therefore solely by grace and through faith that believers are saved.<sup>4</sup> Through the latter they receive the Spirit and have mystical fellowship with Christ, who, being in them, is their hope of salvation.<sup>5</sup> Only twice, however, is he spoken of as a saviour (σωτήρ) in the genuine letters of Paul — once with reference to the church conceived as his body and once in connection with the body of the individual believer.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Rom. 1, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 1, 21 and 2 Thess. 2, 13. In the latter passage the well-attested reading ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (ND etc.; Tisch., W. H. text) seems on the whole preferable to the variant ἀπαρχῆν (B etc.; W. H. mg., Weiss, v. Sod.). 'Απ' ἀρχῆς and ἀπαρχή are confused elsewhere in the Greek Bible (Ecclus. 24, 9; Rom. 16, 5; Rev. 14, 4).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rom. 8, 29. To be "conformed to the image" (συνμóρφους τῆς εἰκόνης) of Christ is to be like Christ in nature, i. e. 'pneumatic.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eph. 2, 8. Haupt (Eph. in Meyer's *Kommentar*,<sup>8</sup> besw. 7pp. 64 f.) rightly observes: "Also liegt der Hauptton in V. 8 in. auf τῇ χάρι., und διὰ πίστ. bringt überhaupt nicht ein neues Moment, sondern ist nach echt paulinischer Anschauung nur ein anderer Ausdruck für jene göttliche Alleinursächlichkeit." Cf. also 1 Tim. 1, 16; 2 Tim. 3, 15; Jas. 2, 14 ff.; 1 Pet. 1, 5, 9; Heb. 10, 37 ff. In the Hermetic writings, on the other hand, salvation, which is conceived as deification, is obtained through direct vision (θεα) or knowledge (γνώσις) of God. Reitzenstein (*Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, p. 38) says: "Überall in diesen Schriften klingt wieder: das Schauen Gottes, das immer ähnlich als unmittelbares Schauen und Empfinden des Alls beschrieben wird, macht zu Gott, gibt die σωτηρία. Und diese höchste Schau (θεα) heisst γινῶναι θεόν."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Col. 1, 27 and 1 Thess. 1, 3. Cf. *supra*, pp. 54 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eph. 5, 23 and Phil. 3, 20 f. Elsewhere in the New Testament σωτήρ is used 14 times of Christ (Lk. 2, 11; Jn. 4, 42; Ac. 5, 31; 13, 23; 2 Tim. 1, 10; Tit. 1, 4; 2, 13; 3, 6; 2 Pet. 1, 1, 11; 2, 20; 3, 2, 18; 1 Jn. 4, 14) and 8 times of God (Lk. 1, 47; 1 Tim. 1, 1; 2, 3; 4, 10; Tit. 1, 3; 2, 10; 3, 4; Jude 25). For the church as the body of Christ cf. *supra*, p. 50, n. 5.

body of the latter is destined to participate in salvation, which from the point of view of the former Pharisee would be incomplete without it. "We shall not all sleep," the Apostle writes to the Corinthians concerning the end of the age, "but we shall all be changed," i. e. our 'psychical' bodies will become 'pneumatic.'<sup>1</sup> He believes that when Christ, who is the Christians' life and hope of glory,<sup>2</sup> shall appear, he will refashion the body of their lowly estate, that it may be conformed to his body of glory.<sup>3</sup> This change is spoken of in the Epistle to the Romans as the redemption (ἀπολύτρωσις) of the body.<sup>4</sup> At the sound of the trumpet the dead will rise or be raised incorruptible,<sup>4</sup> and the 'psychical' or natural body (σῶμα ψυχικόν) will be raised a 'pneumatic' or spiritual body (σῶμα πνευματικόν).<sup>5</sup> The 'psychical' and the 'pneumatic' are different in kind, and the

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. 15, 51. There are three *variae lectiones* here: (1) οὐ κοιμηθήσόμεθα πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγθήσόμεθα (BD<sup>be</sup> etc.; Tisch., W. H., Weiss, v. Sod.); (2) κοιμηθήσόμεθα οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγθήσόμεθα (NC etc.; Lachm.); and (3) ἀναστήσόμεθα οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγθήσόμεθα (D\*). The last reading, which is 'Western' and was apparently derived from 1 Thess. 4, 16, may be confidently rejected. Both (1) and (2) are well attested and in themselves intelligible; but only the former is suited to the context and to 1 Thess. 4, 15ff. Cf. Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (1882), ii, appendix, pp. 118 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Col. 1, 27 and 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Phil. 3, 21. "Lowly estate" (ταπεινότης) is here equivalent to "body of flesh" (σῶμα τῆς σαρκός), and is opposed to "body of glory" (σῶμα τῆς δόξης), which is a "pneumatic body" (σῶμα πνευματικόν). It is sometimes said that μετασχηματίζει denotes that which is accidental and outward, and that σύμμορφον refers to that which is intrinsic and essential (Lightfoot, Vincent). But inasmuch as refashioning (μετασχηματίζειν) the believer's body aims at and results in its being conformed (σύμμορφον) to the body of Christ, it seems doubtful if the distinction can be maintained here. Lightfoot admits that "the difference is not obvious at first sight" (cf. *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*,<sup>8</sup> 1888, p. 131). By the μετασχηματίσις of the believer's body at the advent Paul means a change in nature, i. e. a transition from the 'psychical' to the 'pneumatic.' Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 44 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Rom. 8, 23.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 52 and 1 Thess. 4, 16.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 44. Reitzenstein has shown that πνεῦμα and ψυχή were opposing and mutually exclusive concepts in Hellenistic religious circles before the time of Paul (cf. *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, pp. 43 ff.). When a spirit (πνεῦμα) entered into and took possession of a person, the latter came under the control of the spirit, and instead of being his natural self (ψυχή) he became 'pneumatic,' or divine. In like manner when the πνεῦμα Christ takes possession of the believer,

former precedes the latter in time.<sup>1</sup> As believers have borne the image of the earthy, so will they also bear the image of the heavenly.<sup>2</sup> For, as the Apostle explains, it is impossible for flesh and blood to inherit the Kingdom of God or for corruption to inherit incorruption.<sup>3</sup> While believers are in the natural or 'psychical' body, they are absent from the Lord, and they walk in faith (*διὰ πίστεως*), not in appearance (*διὰ εἶδους*).<sup>4</sup> But at the advent

the latter ceases to be *ψυχικός* and becomes *πνευματικός* (cf. 1 Cor. 2, 14 f.). By *σῶμα ψυχικόν* the Apostle means the body belonging to the natural self (*ψυχή*), i. e. the fleshly body (*τὸ σῶμα τῆς σαρκός*); and similarly *σῶμα πνευματικόν* is the body that belongs to a *πνεῦμα*, i. e. a 'pneumatic' or divine body. The ancients believed that *πνεύματα* were material beings, consisting of a very highly attenuated form of matter; and hence a 'pneumatic' body was not a contradictory notion. For Paul the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* is different in kind from the *σῶμα ψυχικόν*, just as *πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή* are different *genera*. In 2 Cor. 5, 1 he speaks of the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* as *ἀν ὁκία ἀχειροποίητος αἰώνιος ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* and contrasts it with *ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν ὁκία τοῦ σκήνους*, which is the *σῶμα ψυχικόν*. Cf. also Rom. 8, 11 and 1 Cor. 15, 49.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 49. *Τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοῦκοῦ* is the *σῶμα ψυχικόν*, and *τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου* is the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* (cf. v. 44). Editors and commentators are divided between the future indicative *φορέσομεν* (B 46; W. H. mg., Weiss) and the aorist subjunctive *φορέσωμεν* (NACD etc.; Tisch., W. H. text, v. Sod.). External evidence is strongly in favor of the latter, but internal probability seems to the present writer to speak decisively for the former. Ellicott's judgment on this point is entirely sound: "It seems . . . impossible to deny that not only the context, and the whole tenor of the argument, . . . are in favour of the future, but further, that the preceptive or hortative subjunctive is here singularly out of place and unlooked for."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 50. By *σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα* in this verse Paul means humanity conceived as *σαρκικός*. In extra-canonical writings the phrase *בשר ודם*, like *כל בשר* in the Old Testament, is often used to denote humanity (cf., e. g., Ecclus. 14, 18 [Heb. and Gk.]; *Berakoth* f. 28 b and f. 32 b). Cf. also Mt. 16, 17; Gal. 1, 16; Eph. 6, 12 (vs. evil powers); Heb. 2, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. 5, 6 f. *Εἶδους* in v. 7 means appearance (Meyer, Heinrici, Menzies, *et al.*), not sight (Lietzmann *et al.*) — a meaning which is not supported by any certain lexical evidence; and the preposition *διὰ* denotes the realm or sphere, as in Rev. 21, 24. Heinrici (in Meyer's *Kommentar*,<sup>8</sup> 1900, p. 185) thus interprets the phrase *οὐ διὰ εἶδους*: "Nicht so, dass wir von der Erscheinung umgeben sind, nicht so, dass wir Christus, den Erhöhten, schon in seiner wirklichen Erscheinung und Gestalt, d. i. in seiner sichtlichen *δῶξα* vor uns haben und dieses herrliche *εἶδος* uns auf unserem Wandel umleuchtet." Cf. 1 Cor. 13, 12 and Jn. 17, 24.

of the Lord all Christians, both the dead and those who happen to be living at the time, will be in the immediate presence of Christ and realize in full the destiny to which God has predestinated them, viz. to be "conformed to the image of his Son," and they will then share in the glory of Christ and of God.<sup>1</sup> The Apostle believes that the Christian life will reach its completion or consummation at the *parousia*. Already in the present age, as we have seen, the believer is not only under the control of Christ or the Spirit, but is also himself 'pneumatic' or divine by virtue of the transformation of nature which he has experienced in Christ. Both the divine control and the divinization of the Christian are to become complete in the age that is to be ushered in by the Lord's coming, but the believer is not to lose his identity by being identified or fused with Christ.

Paul mentions *πίστις* among the charismatic gifts apportioned to various members of the Corinthian community.<sup>2</sup> Here, however, the word is used in a special sense — one that is quite unlike that which we have been discussing. For faith in this passage is not the possession of all Christians or the distinctive mark of the Christian life, but is rather one among several manifestations of the Spirit and a particular endowment of certain individuals. It is given in the sphere of the Spirit, and is that species of faith or trust which enables its possessor to accomplish extraordinary or humanly impossible feats.<sup>3</sup> Like the Christian

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rom. 8, 29. Inasmuch as the Son is the image of God (2 Cor. 4, 4; Col. 1, 15), to be "conformed to the image" (*συνμóρφους τῆς εἰκόνος*) of the former is to share not only in his glory (Phil. 3, 21; Col. 3, 4; cf. 1 Jn. 3, 2), but also in that of God (Rom. 5, 2).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 12, 9. Various classifications of the 'pneumatic' endowments mentioned in vv. 8-10 can be found in the commentaries (cf., e. g., J. Weiss in Meyer's *Kommentar*,<sup>9</sup> 1910, p. 299; and Edwards, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*,<sup>4</sup> 1903, pp. 313 f.); but in view of the somewhat uncertain character of these attempts it seems better not to base any conclusions concerning the nature of faith upon them. Cf. also Rom. 12, 6 ff.; 1 Tim. 4, 14; 2 Tim. 1, 6; 1 Pet. 4, 10.

<sup>3</sup> From the ancient point of view the doing of extraordinary or unwonted things was intelligible only on the assumption that the doer possessed divine or superhuman power. Cf. also 1 Cor. 13, 2; Mt. 17, 20 (cf. Mk. 11, 23 and Lk. 17, 6); Mt. 21, 21 = Mk. 11, 23; Lk. 17, 6. In omitting the comparison with a grain of mustard Paul's reminiscence of Jesus' saying is nearer to the Marcan than to the Matthaean or Lucan form. Cf. also Mk. 9, 23 (Mt. and Lk. omit).

life in general, it is under the control of the Holy Spirit, and, being a divine gift and a manifestation of the Spirit, it is of course not to be lightly esteemed. Nevertheless, the charisma of faith is not to be a permanent possession of the believer, like faith in the larger sense, hope, and love;<sup>1</sup> but, along with the lesser 'pneumatic' endowments, it is destined to pass away at the *parousia* of Christ.

Our study shows conclusively that for the Apostle Paul faith in the larger sense of the word is the basic principle of religion and the source of moral excellence. For it is only through faith that one can become a Christian, receive the Holy Spirit, and live in mystical fellowship with Christ; indeed, faith is itself the mystical state in which the believer lives. So, too, it is the sole means whereby one can experience justification or forgiveness in the present age or be saved at the *parousia* of the Lord; and through faith come also the hope of salvation and the joy inspired by justification. Moreover, since love and all the other virtues which give to the Christian life its peculiar moral worth spring from faith, the latter is also the root or source of the believer's moral excellence. In a word, faith is for Paul the fundamental principle of the Christian life;<sup>2</sup> and hence he sometimes speaks of Christians as being "of faith" (*ἐκ πίστεως*) in contrast to the Jews, who are "of the law" (*ἐκ τοῦ νόμου*).<sup>3</sup> Abraham is the forefather of the latter according to the flesh;<sup>4</sup> but the former are his sons and his seed by virtue of faith, so that they are the inheritors of the divine promise and blessing.<sup>5</sup>

Faith the basic principle of religion and the source of moral excellence

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 13, 13 (cf. *supra*, p. 51, n. 5).

<sup>2</sup> In Second Peter knowledge (*ἐπίγνωσις*) of Christ is the principle of the Christian life (cf. 1, 3, 8; 2, 20).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rom. 4, 16; Gal. 3, 7, 9. Although for the Apostle the law of Moses had been superseded as the rule of life, nevertheless he declares in the Epistle to the Romans that it is "holy" (Rom. 7, 12); for, like other Jews, he still believed that it was given by God (cf. 2 Macc. 6, 23). On legalism among the Hebrews and Jews cf. *supra*, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Rom. 4, 1. Cf. also Mt. 3, 9 = Lk. 3, 8; and Jn. 8, 39. *Τέκνα*, which is used in the last three passages, denotes physical descent.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Rom. 4, 13 ff.; Gal. 3, 7 ff. The word *υἱός* emphasizes the legal and ethical aspects of sonship.

In spite of the obvious difficulties involved in any such undertaking, we must now attempt a definition of Paul's idea of faith on the basis of our examination of it. Faith, regarded as the acceptance of the word of God or Christ, is the convert's response to the gospel message under the influence of a divine power working in and through the missionaries, and hence faith is of divine origin. It is given to each individual by God in such measure as he wills. Faith is at once belief, trust, and loyalty—the means whereby the believer receives the Spirit, and enters into and continues in mystical fellowship with Christ. Indeed, it is itself the mystical state in which the Christian lives, and to it are due his spiritual blessings and the virtues which are characteristic of his life. Thus for the Apostle faith is the basic principle of religion and the source of moral excellence.<sup>1</sup>

We have now described the Pauline idea of faith in full. It is clear that it was developed out of trust in Jahveh, which, as we have seen, was the root of Hebrew and Jewish piety. Everywhere and always in Israelitish religion trust in Jahveh meant confidence in or reliance upon him as a personal being, and it was essentially the same for Jesus of Nazareth and his disciples. In Paul, however, as has been pointed out, *πίστις* is very different from trust. The difference is due in part to the fact that the Apostle, being emancipated from the Mosaic law after his conversion, made faith at once the basic principle of religion and the source of moral excellence,<sup>2</sup> and in part also to the mysticism which

<sup>1</sup> According to Heb. 11, *ἡ πίστις* is "assurance (*ὑπόστασις*) of things hoped for, conviction (*ἔλεγχος*) of things not seen"; and the writer proceeds to illustrate it with a series of examples taken from Old Testament history. On the meaning of *ὑπόστασις* cf. Schlatter, *Der Glaube im N. T.*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 615 ff. It is difficult to formulate a satisfactory definition of the idea of faith in the Fourth Gospel, whose author was influenced in this respect chiefly by Paul, but also to some extent by the synoptists. For a concise account of faith in the Gospel and First Epistle of John cf. W. Bauer in *Handbuch zum N. T.*, ii, 2, 1912, pp. 74 f.

<sup>2</sup> Bousset (*Kyrios Christos*, 1913, p. 123) says: "Paulus eigene Tat wird die persönliche Durchdringung und Vergeistigung des 'Glaubens' als des Zentrums alles religiösen Lebens gewesen sein, oder wenigstens die Einführung dieser Erkenntnis in die Religion des Christentums."



he imported into the idea. Paul's mysticism seems to have been derived from no one source in particular, as from Philo or some one of the mystery cults. It was rather absorbed, in a perfectly natural and partly unconscious way, from his Graeco-Roman environment, in which mysticism was a very prominent and important factor. Thus in the Pauline idea of faith Hebraic and Hellenistic elements are commingled in such a way that a novel result is produced — a contribution to the philosophy of religion whose significance it is impossible to overestimate.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the history of faith cf. E. Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church* <sup>2</sup> (1891), pp. 310 ff.

### CHAPTER III

#### FAITH AND THE RELIGIONS OF THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

It is not germane to our purpose to trace even in outline the long and complicated history of religion in Greece and Italy. Several periods, each having its own characteristics, can be distinguished in the evolution of Greek religion; but in spite of all the variety which it exhibits, there is an underlying continuity of life extending from the Aegean age down to the end of paganism. In Greece more than anywhere else poetry and philosophy modified religious beliefs and rites. In like manner the religion of the Romans, as we know it in the later years of the Republic or under the Empire, is the product of a long development, in the course of which many Etruscan and Greek divinities were adopted for worship. The enrichment of native religious ideas and practices through the introduction of foreign cults is the most striking characteristic of Roman religion.

Belief in the existence and power of the gods was practically universal in early times; and an elaborate worship, consisting chiefly of sacrifices, processions, religious festivals, and sacred games, was handed down from generation to generation. Regular priesthoods, sometimes hereditary in certain families, were necessary for the maintenance of the cultus. These traditional rites became established in the various towns and cities of Greece and Italy, and were supported by the state. Among the Romans the state religion was more closely connected with the forms of public life than in Greece, but everywhere religion was an affair of the state. To participate in public worship was to perform one's civic duty as well as one's religious obligations, and to neglect the established religion was quite as much disloyalty to the state as impiety to the gods. Even when scepticism was rife in the upper strata of Greek and Roman society, as it was in Athens during the Periclean age and in Rome during the later years of the Republic, the ancestral religion continued to flourish. Belief was weak or dead in the minds

of many people, but they could still join in the public worship of the gods.

The city or state religions were not mystical, nor did they have any sacraments by means of which a person might become regenerate or enter into union with the deity. They did not concern themselves with regeneration or the life to come, but rather aimed at securing the favor of the gods, in order that men might be happy and prosperous in this world. Nor, on the other hand, did the established religions pay much attention to morals or inculcate righteousness. The gods to be sure, in spite of some features of the traditional mythology, were regarded as the defenders of the moral order; but purity and justice were not required of those who took part in their worship. The all-important thing was that the ritual should be duly performed by the citizens of the city or state; and although these religions were unable to satisfy certain fundamental spiritual needs and were impotent to arouse or strengthen moral impulses, nevertheless it must be admitted that they were of great value in binding men together in social and political groups.

Faith, as a principle of religion, was quite unknown in the state worships. A man joined in the rites because he was born or lived in a certain place. He acted as a member of a social or political group, not as an individual; and personal conviction or trust in the gods played no part in determining his action. Of course it goes without saying that in certain circles, as well as in those periods which we may call the ages of faith, many people believed firmly in the existence and power of the gods and trusted in them for all kinds of blessings; and there can be no doubt that such persons, by reason of their personal conviction and piety, entered into public worship with more spirit and enthusiasm than those who merely conformed to custom.

Thus Xenophon says that Socrates trusted in gods,<sup>1</sup> though his purpose is not so much to give a trait of his master's character as to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mem.* i, 1, 5, πιστεύων δὲ θεοῖς πῶς οὐκ εἶναι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν; The phrase νομίζειν θεοὺς means simply to believe in gods or to acknowledge their existence (cf., e. g., Plato, *Apol.* 18 c).

show the falsity of the common belief that he was an atheist. For if he trusted in gods, it was manifestly absurd to suppose that he did not believe in the existence of such beings. So, **Trust in the gods** too, personal piety is clearly indicated in an injunction found in the *Epinomis*, a dialogue wrongly ascribed to Plato: "Pray to the gods with trust."<sup>1</sup> Again, even the statement of the orator Aeschines that he had come into the court-room with trust in the gods, the laws of the state, and the jury, reflects a certain amount of pious feeling; but it is obviously not an expression of any very profound religious sentiment.<sup>2</sup> However firmly a man might believe in the existence of the gods, and however much he might trust in them, such belief or trust was not felt to be a requisite for participation in the rites of the established religions, which were public worships rather than expressions of personal piety.

About the beginning of the Christian era most intelligent and thoughtful persons had ceased to believe in the traditional divinities; **Scepticism and the *religio civilis*** and Augustus, moved more by self-interest and patriotism than by personal piety, tried to put new life into the old Roman religion. But any such attempt on the part of the state was bound to end in failure; for philosophical speculation had taught the cultivated classes to regard the universe in such a way that the naïve beliefs of bygone days were no longer tenable, and their religious needs were satisfied either by the Stoic doctrine of an all-pervasive deity or by the mystery cults with their sacraments and elaborate ritual. Such people looked upon the state religion as a mass of puerile and meaningless superstitions;<sup>3</sup> but inasmuch as it was the *religio civilis*, it was tolerated and even defended. To conform outwardly was an obligation which the citizen owed to the state.

Alongside of the city or state religions there were many so-called mysteries, which represented a totally different type of religion.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Epin.* 980 c, πιστεύσας τοῖς θεοῖς εἶχον. Cf. Stallbaum *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Contra Ctes.* 1, ἐγὼ δὲ πεπιστευκὸς ἦκω πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἔπειτα τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν.

<sup>3</sup> For Seneca's judgment of the popular religion see a quotation from his *De Superstitione* which is preserved in Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* vi, 10.

Unlike the established worships, the mysteries were of a personal and voluntary character, each individual attaching himself to the cult of his choice on account of certain advantages which he hoped to gain from it. In the former case the controlling factor was birth or residence in a particular place, whereas in the latter it was personal need and conviction. Again, the traditional religions aimed at securing the favor of the gods in this world without concerning themselves much about morals or the next life; but in the mystery cults great emphasis was laid on life after death, and a future of bliss was promised to those who were initiated into them. Initiation was regarded as purificatory, and, though the ritual aspect of it often predominated, in some of these religions personal purity and uprightness of life were required of those who sought admission. However much stress might be laid upon the necessity of being initiated, it could not be believed by intelligent persons that future happiness was wholly independent of moral rectitude in this life. Finally, there was the sacred mystery itself, in which the ritual of the cult culminated. It was an ancient and impressive rite, through which the worshipper was brought into a mystical relation with the god or goddess of the worship, and hence it was of a truly sacramental nature. Only initiates were allowed to be present, and great care was taken to prevent outsiders from learning anything about the ceremony or its significance. The principal representatives of this type of religion in the classical period were the Orphic societies and the mysteries of Eleusis, Samothrace, and Andania.

Most of the mysteries were supported and directed by private persons as independent religious associations. They had no connection whatever with the state or the established worship of the community, and were merely permitted by the authorities to exist. A few of these cults, however, were maintained and managed by the state; and although they were radically different in character from the traditional religion, they nevertheless became part and parcel of the official worship, and thus acquired a prestige that was lacking to the private organiza-

**Private and  
public mys-  
teries**

tions. The most famous and important of the state mysteries were those celebrated annually at Eleusis in honor of Demeter and her daughter Kore.

In the sixth century B.C. the mystery movement made its appearance in the Greek-speaking world,<sup>1</sup> but in Hellenistic and Roman times the number and influence of the mysteries greatly increased. Relations of all kinds were then much closer between the Orient and the Occident, and a number of mystery cults from Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria, and Persia appeared in the West. The most important of these Oriental religions were those of Cybele and Attis, Isis and Sarapis, and the Persian Mithras. They were akin to the earlier mysteries, but they were more distinctly Oriental in character.

It would be a serious mistake to suppose that the old city or state religions were the real antagonists of Christianity in the first centuries of our era. On the contrary, they had lost their power and were already moribund when the latter entered upon its career of conquest in the Graeco-Roman world, and it was obliged to compete with far more vigorous and dangerous rivals in the mystery cults. In the face of such feeble opponents as the traditional worships of Greece and Italy the triumph of the religion of Christ in Europe would have been much more easy and rapid.

The mystery cults enjoyed great popularity throughout the length and breadth of the Roman Empire, and some of them continued to attract worshippers even after Christianity had triumphed over paganism. They had multitudes of adherents both in the cities and in the country districts, as the literary and epigraphic sources which have come down to us testify. Travel was common in the Roman period on account of the excellent roads and the security afforded by the *pax Romana*. Soldiers and merchants, government officials and slaves were continually passing to and fro on their business or settling down on the approach of old age to

The mysteries more vigorous than the state religions

The dissemination of the mystery cults and the nature of their appeal

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1906), ii, pp. 1016 ff.

pass their remaining days in peace and quiet. Many of them were votaries of the Oriental divinities, and wherever they went a shrine was almost sure to be set up and a centre of influence established. The nature of the appeal which the mystery religions made is not difficult to understand. Their rites were mysterious and impressive; they were well organized; their sacraments met a popular demand; and they promised those who were initiated into them a blissful life after death. These are the causes to which the popularity of the mystery cults in the Graeco-Roman world was due.

The effect of the Oriental mystery religions upon the morals of their adherents must be inferred from certain general considerations,

The influence  
of the Oriental  
mystery re-  
ligions upon  
morals

for the direct evidence bearing on this question is very scanty. Percy Gardner (*The Religious Experience of Saint Paul*, 1911, p. 87) says: "We have no reason to think that those who claimed salvation through Isis or Mithras were much better than their neighbours. They felt secure of the help of their patron-deity in the affairs of life and in the future world; but they did not therefore live at a higher level." Nevertheless, in view of certain prominent and characteristic doctrines of these religions, it is impossible to doubt that they exercised a good influence over many of their votaries; for initiates were taught that they were morally defiled and needed purification, and their thoughts were directed away from this life to salvation in the world to come. By such teachings and interests as these they could not but be predisposed to purity and high-mindedness; and if some of them fell into evil ways, it was because their frail natures were unable to withstand temptation. Although there was much in these Oriental worships to be condemned for one reason or another, nevertheless it cannot be denied that in some respects their influence was morally valuable.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Moore (in *The Harvard Theol. Rev.*, viii, 1915, pp. 180 f.) says: "Thus we find that there were many elements in these Eastern religions which in the last three centuries of paganism at least made for righteousness. . . . That the Oriental religions actually contributed to the higher moral and spiritual life of the Roman Empire during the second, third, and fourth centuries is beyond question. . . . To

Although πίστις, πιστεύειν, and their Latin equivalents are very rarely found in the literary and epigraphic sources relating to the Greek and Oriental mystery cults,<sup>1</sup> some of the ideas denoted by them were present in the mind of every mystic. To be sure faith, as Paul understood the term, was entirely lacking; but belief, trust, and confidence were salient and characteristic features of the mystery type of religion, and fidelity to the god or goddess of the cult was expected of every initiate.<sup>2</sup> As soon as men began of their own volition to identify themselves with worships which were not connected with the state religion and to take part in their rites, the individualistic and voluntary principle was introduced in place of the older notion that worship was a function of the tribe or state. The only reason for allying oneself with any particular cult was personal belief — a conviction that some good was to be derived from entering upon the service of a particular deity. The end sought in the mystery religions, as we have seen, was salvation after death, and the religious ideal was mystical identification with the divinity of the cult. The worshipper's present religious satisfaction consisted in this mystical identification with the deity, which was achieved by means of sacramental rites; and his anticipation of bliss in the next world was

fail to recognize the real moral value of Oriental Paganism is to fail to understand the first centuries of our era, and so to remain blind to the true nature of the world in which Christianity established its superior worth."

<sup>1</sup> Πίστις occurs in the sepulchral inscription of one Abercius of Hierapolis in Phrygia, who was probably a votary or priest of Attis. The text is as follows: Πίστις πάντη δὲ προήγε | καὶ παρέθηκε τροφήν πάντη ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ πηγῆς | πανμεγέθη καθαρὸν, ὃν ἐδράξατο παρθένος ἀγνή | καὶ τοῦτον ἐπέδωκε φίλοις ἔσθαι διὰ παντός | οἶνον χρηστὸν ἔχουσα κέραςμα διδοῦσα μετ' ἄνθρωπων. I follow Reitzenstein in regarding Πίστις here as the name of a divinity (cf. *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 1910, p. 86), though it is possible that Harnack is right in suggesting that it may be the designation of a woman (cf. *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xii, 1895, pp. 13 f.). If one might have recourse to an emendation, παῖς τις would be a simple change and would make excellent sense. For the whole inscription and the literature on it cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 f.; and Hepding, *Attis* (1903), pp. 84 f. and 188 f.

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian, in exhorting Christians to be faithful unto death and to fight the good fight, holds up before them the example of a soldier of Mithras, whose faithfulness (*fides*) might easily cause the followers of Christ to blush with shame. He concludes with the following sentence: "Agnoscamus ingenia diaboli, idcirco quaedam de divinis affectantis, ut nos de suorum fide confundat et iudicet" (*De Cor.* 15).



based on trust in the power and goodness of his god, whose favor he had won in the divinely appointed way. Hence he was full of confidence,<sup>1</sup> and he faced the future with the assurance that is born of religious ecstasy.

The Pauline conception of Christianity bears a striking resemblance in some respects to the mystery type of religion, but the religious ideal involved and the means by which the mystical state is brought about are different. For Paul and the mystery cults Paul to be a Christian is to be in Christ. The believer is thought of as being not only under the control of Christ or the Spirit, but also as being 'pneumatic' or divine, just as Christ is 'pneumatic' or divine; and yet he is not identified with Christ.<sup>2</sup> This new life in Christ is inaugurated and maintained by faith, and through faith come salvation and those virtues or graces which are the characteristic marks of the Christian's life. In a word, faith is the primary and all-important factor in the religious life — the basic principle of religion and the source of moral excellence. The mystic, on the other hand, sought to become identified with the divinity whom he worshipped, and this identification was produced by means of a sacrament.<sup>3</sup> The initiate of course believed in the efficacy of the sacrament, but beyond this faith had no part in the transaction.

<sup>1</sup> Apuleius uses the word *fiducia* once in reference to the Egyptian cult. The speaker is Lucius, who has just described himself as a *cultor adsiduus* of Isis, and the passage runs thus: "Ergo igitur cunctis adfatim prae paratis, decem rursus diebus inanimis contentus cibus, insuper etiam deraso capite, principalis dei nocturnis orgiis inlustratus, plena iam fiducia germanae religionis obsequium divinum frequentabam" (*Met.* xi, 28). *Fiducia* here clearly means confidence or assurance.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 40 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e. g., κύριε, πάλιν γενόμενος ἀπογίγνομαι αὐξόμενος καὶ αὐξηθεὶς τελευτῶ, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ζυφογόνου γενόμενος εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεὶς πορεύομαι, ὡς σὺ ἔκτισας, ὡς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας καὶ ἐποίησας μυστήριον (Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*,<sup>2</sup> 1910, p. 14, ll. 31 ff.). Cf. also Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (1913), pp. 148 ff. and 424 f. The idea that the worshipper and the deity are one appears also in magical sources. Cf. τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τέλος τοῖς γνώσιν ἐσχηκότες, θεωθῆναι (*Poimandres* 26, ed. Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 336); σὺ γὰρ εἰ ἐγὼ καὶ ἐγὼ σὺ (Dieterich, *Abrazas*, 1891, p. 196, l. 17); σοι (i. e. σὺ) γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἐγὼ σοι (i. e. σὺ)· τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν σὸν· ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι τὸ εἰδωλὸν σου (Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, i, 1893, p. 117, ll. 36 ff.). Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 118, l. 50.

From the mystical state induced by the sacramental rite sprang trust and confidence, which, being products of the votary's religious experience in the cult, were secondary to the sacramental idea. The latter indeed, rather than faith or trust, was the basic principle of the mystery religions.

About the beginning of the Christian era most intelligent Greeks and Romans no longer believed in the established religions, which they regarded only as traditional state functions.

**Stoicism**

Some persons of this sort found what they wanted in the mystery cults; but others, and especially those whose minds and consciences had been educated by writings or lectures on religious and ethical subjects, sought satisfaction in the teachings of the philosophers. Stoicism was particularly well adapted to meet their needs, and for many it took the place of a religion.

The most eminent Stoics of the first and early second centuries after Christ were Seneca and Epictetus. The former was a distinguished statesman and man of letters in the reign of Nero, whereas the latter was born a slave and became a popular teacher of morals. These two figures illustrate in a striking way the wide range of appeal which Stoic teachings had under the Empire. Many cultivated men and women found in the ethics of Stoicism an ideal of life that was both attractive and satisfying; and the Stoic preachers, who harangued the multitudes on the streets and in the market-places, impressed upon the minds of the humbler classes the advantages of honesty and uprightness of life.

In its ethical teaching Stoicism emphasized the individual's will and conscience, while as a religion it fostered a sense of fellowship

with the soul of the universe. It taught belief in one supreme deity and at the same time allowed men to worship the various divinities of the traditional religions; but of faith as a principle of religion it made nothing. Seneca uses *fides* in the sense of credence given to a person,<sup>1</sup> a promise,<sup>2</sup> and faithfulness.<sup>3</sup> The last is extolled as a virtue of

*Fides, πίστις, and πιστεῖν in Seneca and Epictetus*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Nat. Quaest.* 4, 3, 1; *Lud. de Mort. Claud.* 5, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *De Ben.* 5, 21, 1; *Ep.* 71, 17.      <sup>3</sup> Cf. *De Tran. An.* 11, 2; 15, 1; *Ep.* 88, 29.

very great worth; but it is the faithfulness of one man to another, not fidelity to God. The word never means faith or trust in the Supreme Being. Thus *fides* in Seneca belongs to the sphere of ethics rather than to that of religion. In Epictetus *πίστις* has the meaning of assurance,<sup>1</sup> proof,<sup>2</sup> and fidelity;<sup>3</sup> but it is nowhere used in connection with religion. The verb *πιστεύειν*, which occurs a number of times without any religious connotation, is found once among the apothegms ascribed to Epictetus with God as its object;<sup>4</sup> but whether it be understood here in the sense of believing or trusting, it clearly has nothing to do with *πίστις* as a principle of religion. The fact is that faith was not an important factor in the religious life of the Stoics, and hence it played no conspicuous part in their religious teaching.

Eclecticism in philosophy and religion appealed to many cultivated and thoughtful persons in the Graeco-Roman world. Its leading representatives were two men of great influence and distinction — Cicero and Plutarch. The former of these had no profound personal experience of religion; but he was a serious observer and thinker as well as a statesman, and he held a religious view of the world. Plutarch was also a man of wide culture and varied learning; but he was unlike Cicero in that, being a priest of the Pythian Apollo and an initiate in the Eleusinian mysteries, he had had a more varied religious experience. Religion and moral questions were his chief interests.<sup>5</sup>

Both Cicero and Plutarch had a large acquaintance with the religious and philosophical thought of their own and earlier times,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Diss.* 3, 7, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 1, 28, 3; 2, 2, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 1, 3, 4; 4, 13, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *μη πιστευσεν τύχη καὶ πιστεύσας θεῷ* (cf. Schenkl, *Epicteti Dissertationes*, 1894, p. 488). In a Stoic fragment on the inerrancy of the sage's knowledge *πίστις* is identified with certitude (*κατάληψις*), which according to Zeno was the third degree of knowledge, being higher than presentation (*φαντασία*) and assent (*συγκατάθεσις*) and inferior to understanding (*ἐπιστήμη*). Cf. v. Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (1903-1905), iii, p. 147. Here, however, the term is obviously psychological rather than religious.

<sup>5</sup> On Plutarch's religion cf. Oakesmith, *The Religion of Plutarch* (1902).

and they gathered freely whatever pleased them from any and every quarter; and yet faith or trust in God was not a principle of religion for either of them. Moreover, it is a fact of no small significance that there was nothing in the religion or philosophy of the Graeco-Roman world out of which faith in that sense could develop. But in the case of Philo and the Apostle Paul, who were born of the seed of Abraham and brought up in Jewish circles, trust in Jahveh became faith.

From time immemorial demonology was a popular belief and magic a common practice in Western lands. The world was believed literally to swarm with spirits of all sorts. The air, and the earth, and the regions beneath it, as well as fire and water, were each thought to be inhabited by a special class of invisible beings, who were endowed with superhuman powers. Some of them were kindly and helpful to men, whereas others were evil and had to be propitiated or overpowered in some way. In order to live securely or to carry on any undertaking successfully, it was necessary to get control over these opposing or hostile powers, and the art which professed to accomplish this was magic.<sup>1</sup> The indigenous magic of Greece and Italy was simple as compared with the occult and professional variety which was introduced from the East under the Empire; and it was the latter which was most esteemed and feared by the ignorant and superstitious masses, partly because it was more mysterious and partly because it was believed to be the source of unlimited power. If one only had possession of the right formulae and knew how to perform the proper ritual acts, truly marvelous results could be produced in both the seen and the unseen world.

A greatly quantity of magical literature has come down to us — a dreary mass of nonsense and superstition, in which ideas and usages from almost every quarter of the known world are mingled in hopeless confusion. Thus in the magical papyri we find Jewish and Christian elements side by side with contributions from Egypt

<sup>1</sup> On this cf. Cumont, *Les religions orientales*<sup>2</sup> (1909), pp. 240 ff.

and Greece.<sup>1</sup> In like manner the writings which are traditionally connected with the name of Hermes Trismegistus show unmistakably to what lengths the syncretistic tendency in religion had gone by the third century of our era.<sup>2</sup> Faith (πίστις) and believing (πιστεύειν) are occasionally mentioned in these sources,<sup>3</sup> but neither of them is by any means a leading idea. On the other hand knowledge, light, and life receive great emphasis and are characteristic of the writers' religious position. Faith was a prominent Christian concept, and it seems to have been imported into circles in which religious syncretism flourished without any real appreciation of its significance. It might conceivably have been made the highest principle of knowledge or religion; but, as a matter of fact, it was understood in the sense of belief, and, being as such inferior to knowledge, it naturally occupied a subordinate place.

<sup>1</sup> For a sample of this literature cf. Wessely in *Denkschriften der Kaiserl. Akad. der Wissenschaften* [Vienna], phil.-hist. Cl., xxxvi (1888) 2, pp. 27 ff.; and Dieterich in *Jahrbücher für class. Philologie*, Supplmtbd., xvi (1888), pp. 793 ff. The longest of the magical texts edited by Wessely is the famous papyrus in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which was written in Egypt about 300 A.D. That edited by Dieterich is a papyrus now in Leiden, which was found in a tomb at Thebes and dates from about 200 A.D. All of these texts, however, contain ideas which are much older than the documents themselves.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kroll in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, viii, col. 821. Reitzenstein assigns the greater part of these writings to the second century (cf. *Poimandres*, 1904, p. 208).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ἐγὼ ἡ πίστις εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐκρυβείσα (ἐκρυβείσα P) καὶ προφήτης τῶν ἁγίων ὀνομάτων εἰμί, ὁ ἄγιος ὁ ἐκπεφυκὼς ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ (*Par. Lugd. Bat.* J 384, vii, ll. 17 f., ed. Dieterich in *op. cit.*, p. 807); ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κεφαλῆς καθήμενος καὶ κρίνων τὰ πάντα, περιβεβλημένος τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ πίστεως κύκλῳ (*Par. Mag. Par.*, ll. 1012 ff., ed. Wessely in *op. cit.*, p. 70); διὸ πιστεύω καὶ μαρτυρῶ· εἰς ζωὴν καὶ φῶς χωρῶ (*Poimandres* 32, ed. Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 338); τὸ γὰρ νοῆσαι ἐστὶ τὸ πιστεῦσαι, τὸ ἀπιστῆσαι δὲ τὸ μὴ νοῆσαι. ὁ γὰρ λόγος μου φθάνει μέχρι τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ δὲ νοῦς μέγας ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου μέχρι τινὸς ὁδηγηθεὶς φθάνει· ἔχει τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ περιουσίας τὰ πάντα καὶ εὐρὴν σύμφωνα τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐρμηνευθεῖσιν ἐπίστανσε, καὶ ἐν τῇ καλῇ πίστει ἐπανεπαύσατο (*Herm. Tris.*, ix, 10, ed. Parthey, 1854, p. 66). In *Poimandres* 21 πιστεύσης is inserted into the text by Reitzenstein (*op. cit.*, p. 335): ἐὰν οὖν μάθῃς ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ζωῆς καὶ φωτὸς ὄντα καὶ <πιστεύσης> ὅτι ἐκ τούτων τυγχάνεις, εἰς ζωὴν πάλιν χωρήσεις. — Cf. also Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, p. 177; Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*,<sup>3</sup> pp. 163 f.; Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 27; and *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, pp. 85 f.

Judaism stood in striking contrast to all the other religions of the Graeco-Roman world, and it was a factor of considerable importance in the life of the time. Jews were to be found in all parts of the Empire, whither they had gone in pursuit of trade; and wherever they went, their religion went with them and kept them separate from other men, for they could not forget that they belonged to the elect race of Jahveh. They were wont to meet in their synagogues on the Sabbath for the reading of the Scriptures and for prayer, and they took great care to observe the manifold prescriptions of the Mosaic law.

Moreover, there was so much in Judaism which was in accord with the best aspirations of the time, that it could not but appeal strongly to many earnest and serious people who were not Jews; and some of them accepted its most valuable elements and attached themselves more or less loosely to it. The Jewish religion indeed had many points in its favor: it was ancient and venerable; it was based on a divine revelation, which was recorded in sacred books; it taught belief in a single God, who ruled the world with justice and showed mercy to those who kept his commandments; it promised a golden age of righteousness and peace upon the earth; and in the sphere of ethics its teachings were capable of satisfying the most enlightened moral sense. At a time when many had come to distrust the human intellect and were looking to heaven for a revelation of truth; when the chief characteristics of philosophical thought were its tendency toward monotheism and its emphasis on conduct; when wars were frequent and unrest of every kind was in the air — in such an age those features of Judaism which have been enumerated above seemed to many men and women of non-Jewish race a most acceptable and compelling gospel.

The principal meeting-place for Judaism and Graeco-Roman culture was the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria. Here lived the philosopher Philo, who flourished in the first half of the first century after Christ, and was the most prominent representative of Hellenistic Judaism. He was a prolific

writer as well as a constructive thinker, and the system which he produced was in some respects unique in the history of philosophy. It was a fusion of Judaism, Platonism, and Stoicism. For Philo was imbued with the idealism of Plato and the mysticism of the later Stoics; but he also believed that God had revealed himself to the Hebrews in the Old Testament Scriptures, which he interpreted allegorically with the aid of Greek philosophy.

The word *πίστις* has several meanings in Philo,<sup>2</sup> but we are concerned with it only in the sense of trust or faith. According to him **His conception of faith** faith stands at the end rather than at the beginning of the religious life, and is the strongest and most steadfast disposition of the soul<sup>3</sup> — the prize which every devout and thoughtful man strives to gain.<sup>4</sup> It is also said to be the most perfect of virtues.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, God is the object of faith,<sup>6</sup> whose positive content is the conviction that he is the sole cause of all things; and by piety and faith it is possible for a person to be united to God.<sup>7</sup> One seeks to attain this ideal state by suppressing his mental faculties and completely detaching himself from the things of sense, that every part of his nature except the soul may become quiescent, and that God may be everything to him. He is transported out of his ordinary self and brought into union with the Deity by a means which transcends the powers of his intellect. Faith of such a sort is mystical.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a bibliography of Philo cf. Bréhier, *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie* (1908), pp. vii ff. To the works there mentioned should be added Windisch, *Die Frömmigkeit Philos*, Leipzig, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. proof, trustworthiness, trust or faith, and conviction or belief. Cf. Schlatter, *Der Glaube im N. T.*, pp. 579 ff.; and E. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, pp. 84 ff. Bousset (*Kyrios Christos*, p. 174) justly calls Philo "der erste Theologe des Glaubens, der erste, der eine ausführliche Psychologie des Glaubens entwickelt."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *De Confus. Ling.* 9.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Quis Rer. Div. Her.* 18.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *De Praem. et Poen.* 4.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 19; *De Abrahamo* 46.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *De Migr. Abr.* 24, ἐπιτείνων δὲ τὸν ἀκάθεκτον πόθον τοῦ καλοῦ παραινέει καὶ κολλᾶσθαι αὐτῷ. "κύριον" γὰρ φησι "τὸν θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν κολληθήσῃ." τίς οὖν ἡ κόλλα; τίς; εὐσέβεια δήπου καὶ πίστις· ἀρμύζουσι γὰρ καὶ ἐνοῦσαι αἱ ἀρεταὶ ἀφθάρτῳ φύσει διάνοιαν· καὶ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ πιστεύσας "ἐγγίξεν θεῷ" λέγεται.

<sup>8</sup> On Philo's conception of faith cf. Schlatter, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff.; Bréhier, *op. cit.*, pp. 217 ff.; E. Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 311 f.; and Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 ff.

The teachings of Posidonius and the later Stoics, as we have seen, were tinged with mysticism, which was also widely diffused in the

**His mysticism** Roman Empire by the various mystery cults. In this respect Philo seems to have been influenced by Stoicism, to which he was indebted for other elements in his eclectic system of philosophy. On the other hand as a reader of the Greek Old Testament he was familiar with the idea of faith (*πίστις*); but there it has no philosophical connotation nor any connection with mysticism. Philo, however, imparted to it a mystical character, and gave it an important place in his system of thought.

Trust in the gods was a vital element of personal piety in the classical age of Greece, but faith was not required of those who took part in the public worship of the state. The mysteries,

**Conclusion** were personal religions, and their leading characteristics were sacramentalism and the promise of a blissful life after death. The votary believed in the efficacy of the sacraments and in the promise of happiness beyond the grave, and consequently he looked forward with trust and confidence to the future; but faith was by no means the basic principle of the mystery cults. Neither the Stoics nor the Eclectics made any use of faith or trust in God as a principle of religion; and although faith is occasionally mentioned in magical writings, it plays a minor part and is relatively unimportant. The Jewish philosopher Philo, on the other hand, made much of faith or trust in God, and infused into the idea some of the mysticism which he had derived from Graeco-Roman sources.



## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION

**Summary of results.** WE have now come to the end of our inquiry, and we must summarize our results. They may be stated as follows:

1. Trust in Jahveh was the basic element in Hebrew and Jewish piety. It is expressed under various figures; but in essence it was simply the pious man's attitude toward a personal God on whom he could completely and with perfect confidence rely, and it was wholly devoid of mysticism. Such was also Jesus' trust in his heavenly Father.

2. In Paul faith is at once belief, trust, and loyalty — the fundamental principle of religion and the source of moral excellence. It is of divine origin and an indispensable requisite of the Christian life. It is not only the means of entering into and continuing in mystical fellowship with Christ, but is also itself the mystical state in which the believer lives. In the mystery religions the votary aimed at identification with the divinity of the cult by means of a sacrament; but the Christian who is in Christ or in faith is not thought of as being identified with Christ. The Pauline categories are control and divinization ('pneumatization') rather than identification. Moreover, for the Apostle faith is a social bond among those who are Christ's as well as an individual gift, and it is the channel through which flow the Christian's distinctive spiritual blessings — peace with God, hope for the future, joy, justification or forgiveness, and salvation; and at the same time it is the root from which love and the various virtues or graces of the Christian life spring. The Pauline idea of faith was developed out of trust in Jahveh; but the Apostle, who was reared in the Hellenistic city of Tarsus and spent most of his life in the Graeco-Roman world, imparted to it a mystical character which

trust in God had never had on Palestinian soil, and made it fundamental in religion and ethics.

3. Religion in the Graeco-Roman world took two fundamentally different forms — the state religions and the mystery cults. The Graeco-Roman former were public worships sanctioned by tradition and custom, and the latter were personal religions in which the sacramental principle and the assurance of bliss in the world to come were the prominent features. The mystic believed in the god or goddess of his cult, and was full of trust and confidence concerning the future; but his religious life was not based upon faith. Moreover, the ideal of the initiate was identification with the deity, whereas in Paul it is control by Christ or the Spirit and divinization without identification or fusion with Christ. Philo of Alexandria, who seems to have been influenced in this respect by the religious teaching of the Stoics, gave to the Old Testament idea of faith or trust as it appears in the LXX a mystical meaning; but it is highly improbable that Philo's conception of faith in any way affected Paul's view of it. Faith is also occasionally mentioned in certain magical writings; but it is here of secondary importance, being regarded as inferior to knowledge, which was the all-important concern in such circles. Neither the philosophers nor the teachers of morals made any use of faith as a principle of religion or a source of goodness.

With these conclusions in mind it is possible for us to express an opinion on an important question which is still in debate among scholars. Was Pauline Christianity, as some writers think,<sup>1</sup> a mystery religion? For it is held that baptism and the Lord's Supper in Paul and the Lord's Supper, like the lustrations and sacramental meals of the mystery cults, are true sacraments in Paul — i. e. more or less magical means of entering into mystical fellowship with Christ.<sup>2</sup> If this be true, then indeed the Christianity which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Loisy in *The Hibbert Jour.*, x (1911-1912), pp. 56 f.; and Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*<sup>2</sup> (1914), p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> This view is widely held among New Testament scholars at the present time. The leading dissentients are: v. Dobschütz in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (1905),

the Apostle preached in the cities of the empire was only another representative of the mystery type of religion. The primitive Christians of Palestine, following the custom of John the Baptist, baptized converts from the beginning, and certainly from a very early date the rite was administered in the name of Jesus Christ; but it was not invested with a sacramental character. So, too, whenever they partook of a meal in common, they seem to have regarded it as sacred and to have connected it with the memory of Jesus; but it was not thought of as a sacrament. In other words, the Palestinian Christians knew nothing of sacramentalism. On the other hand there can be no question that in the Catholic Church of the second century baptism and the Lord's Supper had a sacramental character,<sup>1</sup> which they have retained in both Eastern and Western Catholicism down to the present day.<sup>2</sup> The only point in dispute is as to the time when sacramental realism first made its appearance in Christianity. But whatever may have been the significance of these primitive Christian institutions for Paul, it is certain that he does not base religion or ethics upon either of them; for faith alone, as we have seen, is the fundamental principle of Pauline Christianity. Moreover, it is an appreciation of the fact that the sacraments occupy a secondary place in the Apostle's

pp. 1 ff., and *Das apostolische Zeitalter* (1906); Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des N. T.* (1909), and *Der Einfluss der Mysterienreligionen auf das älteste Christentum* (1913); Deissmann, *Paulus* (1911); and Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions* (1913). On the study of the problem in modern times cf. Schweitzer, *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung* (1911), pp. 128 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Knopf, *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter* (1905), pp. 416 f.; v. Dobschütz, *Das apostolische Zeitalter*, p. 60; and Heitmüller, *Taufe und Abendmahl im Urchristentum* (1911), pp. 37 f. and 79 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It must be remembered, as Heitmüller (in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1905, p. 463) has pointed out, that in the operation of the sacraments according to Catholic teaching God as *causa principalis* is by no means excluded. Lake (*The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*,<sup>3</sup> p. 433) says: "The difference between this [i. e. Christian sacramentalism] and Magic is that a Sacrament implies that the worshipper obtains certain benefits by fulfilling a covenant made with him by God, while Magic implies that he obtains them because he knows how to compel the deity to grant them." Lake, however, admits that the difference is "not superficially obvious," and that sacramental religion "is, at the least, akin to magic" (*op. cit.*, p. 434).

thought that has led some scholars to regard them as a foreign and more or less incongruous element in it.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, although the present writer believes that Paul thought of baptism and the Lord's Supper in a sacramental way, it seems to him in the highest degree inaccurate and misleading to call Pauline Christianity a mystery religion. It is much more just and reasonable to say that it is a religion of faith, belonging to the sphere of psychology and ethics rather than to that of mystery or magic;<sup>2</sup> for, although the element of mystery or magic and the principle of faith are both present in the Apostle's presentation of the gospel, it is faith that predominates and gives to the Pauline type of Christianity its distinctive and valuable character.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Heitmüller, *Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus* (1903), pp. 35 f.; Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*,<sup>2</sup> ii, pp. 198 and 207 ff.; and Weinel, *Biblische Theologie des N. T.* (1911), p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Harnack (*Lukas der Arzt*, 1906, p. 100) says: "Auch Paulus glaubt an das magische Sakrament, auch er kennt den Christusgeist, der als Naturkraft wirkt, aber er begnügt sich nicht damit. Weil er in der Tiefe des sittlichen Gemüts erfasst ist, strebt er aus der Zauberwelt heraus."



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